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CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1844.

Art. I. — THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.*

The reprint of Burnet's celebrated History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by a New York publishing house, is quite seasonable; and we propose to make it the occasion of offering some remarks on a subject which ought to be, and which, by the influence of recent events and of processes of discussion now in active operation, is likely to become, better understood than it has heretofore been.

Protestants, in general, have a vague and indefinite idea of the Reformation. No branch of that great movement is less understood, or more misunderstood, than the Reformation of the English Church.

It is quite common to hear it imputed almost wholly to the personal passions of King Henry VIII. When thus

* 1. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* By Gilbert Burnet, D. D., Late Lord Bishop of Salisbury. With a copious Index. Revised and corrected, with additional Notes, and a Preface, by the Rev. E. Nares, D. D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. New York: 1843. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *Sixteen Lectures on the Causes, Principles, and Results of the British Reformation.* By John Henry Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Vermont. Philadelphia: 1844. 12mo. pp. 387.

considered, it, of course, loses all claim to dignity, and instead of being contemplated with satisfaction and pride, ought to be associated only with shame and indignation in every virtuous mind. Although a very prevalent, this, as we intend to show, is a very unjust and inadequate view of the cause of the English Reformation.

It was not, as has also been sometimes said, merely a change in the headship of the Church from the Pope of Rome to the King of England. It was more than this. It was a great national movement, actuated by the most patriotic motives, and having the noblest and most dignified aims, — nothing less than the independence, the perpetuity, and the glory of the English Government and nation. It was not only a separation from Rome, but, in its first stages, it was a separation from error, corruption, and abused and usurped power; and if it had been carried out in accordance with its own inherent principles and in fulfilment of its own design, it would have wrought results in England that would have crowned her with a glory, and blessed her with a happiness, infinitely greater than she has realized, or than can, we apprehend, now be expected or reasonably hoped.

We have placed in connexion with Burnet the title of another work, recently given to the public by one of our American Bishops. It is written in a popular form and style, and with considerable force and interest; although it can hardly claim to be regarded as fulfilling the promise of its title "on the causes, principles, and results of the British Reformation." It is scarcely any thing more than an exposition of the abuses, corruptions, and unfounded pretensions of the Roman Church. This very work illustrates what we have remarked concerning the ignorance that prevails respecting the English Reformation. Bishop Hopkins is an able and a learned man, but he does not, we think, at all apprehend the nature and effect of that event. It is not surprising that some, among those Protestants whose views of the Reformation are so vague and inadequate, fall back into Romanism. The wonder is that all do not. If the leading dignitaries, and authorised expounders of Episcopacy, in England and America, reduce the difference between their Church and that of Rome to so slight, inappreciable, and merely nominal a distinction

as is laid down by Bishop Hopkins, nothing can prevent the former from being attracted back, and absorbed again, into the latter. According to him,

"The great difference between the Churches of Rome and of England upon the subject, consists in this. That both admit the appointment, by Christ, of a living authority to interpret and apply his word in the Church, even to the end of the world. But the Church of England holds this living authority to be confined to the interpretation of the Scriptures in points of necessary faith and order, and to be liable, besides, to err. And hence, it is competent to their successors, holding the same official rank and authority, to compare their decisions with the written word and with ancient precedent, and rectify the error. Whereas the Church of Rome, besides the priestly offices of rulers and judges in the church, imagines that another doctrine of the faith was delivered to them in addition to that which is contained in Scripture; and also maintains that their judgments are absolutely infallible, and therefore irreformable; since it is very plain that where no error can possibly exist, there can be no call for reformation."

Upon scrutinizing this passage we find that the "difference" really amounts to nothing. Both hold to the existence, under appointment derived from Christ himself, of a living authority to interpret and apply his word, to the end of time. The Bishop says, indeed, in one sentence, that in the English Church this authority is confined, in its exercise, to the "interpretation of the Scriptures;" whereas in the Romish Church, it embraces another class of topics; meaning what is called *tradition*, that is, the transmitted judgments and practices of past ages. But in the very next sentence he asserts, that the English Church itself adopts the principle of subjecting its decisions to the test of "ancient precedent," as well as of the "written word!" He charges the Romish Church with pretending to "infallibility," while the English Church acknowledges itself "liable to err." It does not seem to occur to him that it matters not much to the subjects of either Church what the pretensions of its rulers are on this point, inasmuch as, on both sides, they claim implicit obedience, on the ground of their having a divine right to command. Indeed, if we have to open our faith to receive what others claim a right to enjoin, it does not tend to render us any the more recon-

ciled to the necessity, to be told by the imposing party, that he really does not know, after all, whether what he is requiring us to swallow, is true or false. If we must submit to the decisions of others, let them, at least, have the grace to feel sure that they are right, and let us have the comfort of being relieved from doubt. It is bad enough to have to take a nauseous and bitter medicine; but it is too bad to have the doctor stand by, and coolly tell us, at the time, that perhaps he has administered the wrong medicine, and that he is quite uncertain whether it will kill or cure. There is some consistency between implicit confidence, and pretended infallibility. But nothing can be more provoking, outrageous, or absurd, than for those who acknowledge themselves "liable to err," to claim a right, derived from, and identical with, that of Christ himself, "to interpret and apply his word in the Church, even to the end of the world."

But there always have been great looseness and unfairness in the manner in which Protestants have urged against the Romish Church its pretension to infallibility. There are important aspects in which this charge rests more justly upon some of the churches of the Reformation, than it does upon the Romish Church. An enlightened and comprehensive observer of the history of Christendom, prior to the Reformation, finds nowhere, in the course of its annals, any countenance for that doctrine, not merely of infallibility, but of perfection, attached by some Protestant sects to certain modern creeds, or forms of faith, fabricated by a particular set of men, at a particular time and place, and imposed upon all other men and all coming times.

The Church of Rome asserts, as it has ever done, the right of interpreting, and fixing authoritatively, the faith of its members, for *the time being*. But it admits the legitimacy, and to some extent has observed the practice, of a revision of its decisions, whenever an adequate occasion might be considered as having arisen. This was the main design of General or Œcumenical Councils. They determined, defined, and imposed upon the belief of the whole Church, whatever doctrines they saw fit to determine, define, and impose; making such amendments and alterations as they judged proper; without any other regard to previous decisions than justly, and inherently, belonged to

them. The faith thus defined and imposed, the whole Church received as absolute truth, for the time being, and until revised or amended by subsequent General Councils. If these General Councils had been convened sufficiently often, and been conducted in a wise, vigilant, and liberal spirit, the body of Christ would never have been pierced and rent anew, in his bleeding and dismembered church. The peace of Christendom would have been perpetuated, the power and glory of the Gospel secured, and the whole world, in all probability, long since been brought to the truth. They were, unfortunately, early perverted by human weakness and wickedness, as all institutions, however wise and beneficent their design, are liable to be; and, instead of exerting a remedial, conservative, and salutary influence, became weapons of bigotry, and instruments of ambition. They were rendered difficult and impracticable, too, in a great degree, from the local jealousies and political rivalries of the various empires included in the limits of Christendom; which were developed in increasing strength and violence of action, as the lapse of time and force of circumstances indurated national characteristics and aggravated national differences. In this way, from this cause, distrust, prejudice, alienation, animosity, and strife, sprang up in the Catholic or Œcumenical Councils, and rendered them worse than useless. In their failure to answer the purposes of their institution, and in the absence of their legitimate and healthful action, there was no remedy for error, and no opening for truth — no power of eradicating abuses, or of introducing reforms, — and the Church rapidly relapsed into the darkness, and fell into the degradation, to which it had sunk at the period of the Reformation.

It is true, indeed, that the Pope was invested with an authority, which, if it had been wisely and faithfully exercised, would have secured the welfare and the constant improvement of the Church. By his bulls, or decretals, he could control and regulate the entire condition of faith and practice, of doctrine and ceremony, throughout the whole Catholic body. In the exercise of this authority he was subject only to the restraint of General Councils. In providing this power, and lodging it in the living head of the Church for the time being, the Roman Catholic system has

the advantage, in comparison with those Protestant sects which are in bondage to creeds and rules of faith and order, contrived and imposed by men of former generations, and which are regarded as infallible, inasmuch as it is forbidden to dispute any of their articles. The Roman Catholic receives with implicit faith, that is, recognizes as infallible, the decisions of the present living Pope and College of Cardinals. The Protestant receives with implicit faith, that is, recognizes as infallible, a creed contrived by some man, or body of men — some Calvin or some Westminster Assembly of Divines — who lived and died in a comparatively dark age. The Pope claims to be regarded as infallible by his contemporaries. The founders of Protestant sects, and framers of Protestant creeds, claim to be regarded as infallible by their followers, through all time. In the system and theory of the Roman Catholic Church there was, then, as we have intimated, really less pretension to infallibility than in the theory and system of certain Protestant sects, which insist upon a strict and inviolable and perpetual adherence to particular established creeds. In the Romish Church there was provided, in the Pope, and in General Councils, an amending, rectifying, and reforming power, which, in itself, is an admission of fallibility.

But this provision, in theory, became null and void in practice. From his situation and circumstances the Pope ceased to be a theologian, and sunk into a politician. His character as priest disappeared in that of prince. His absolute and boundless authority, as might have been predicted by any one at all acquainted with human nature, was soon and utterly perverted from an instrument of reform into an engine of mere domination and corruption. It was solely used to gratify ambition and avarice, to extend the political power and promote the outward glory of the popedom, to increase the number of its subjects, and to strengthen its government over them.

The first step taken, in breaking in upon the integrity of the Catholic Church, as a vast political organization — the mightiest the world has ever witnessed, the first decisive encroachment upon the universal empire of the Roman pontiff, was the assertion of a right in each separate nation, as such, included within its communion, by Convocations of its own clergy, acting under the sanction of its own Gov-

ernment, to look into grievances, reform abuses, and, in general, to regulate ecclesiastical and religious matters, and exercise a conservative, remedial, and administrative power over its own spiritual affairs and interests. Such national Convocations were regarded as the appropriate substitute, and necessary alternative, of General Councils. There were authorised precedents for them in the Provincial Councils, which had been held, at various times and places, from a very early age. They were sustained by every suggestion of patriotism, and by every form in which the spirit of loyalty, and love of country, and national pride and ambition can be developed. The policy of kings, and the glory of nations, conspired to sanction and promote them.

As the several kingdoms of Europe emerged from the midnight thraldom of the dark ages, and experienced the stimulating rivalry of extending commerce and reviving arts, their rulers, if at all enlightened and capable of appreciating their rights and duties, were on the alert to recover back as much as they could of that large part of their essential sovereignty and independence, which had been stealthily and insensibly, but continually robbed away from them by the encroaching power of the Roman See, while they had been sleeping in the stupor of ignorance, and rendered helpless by the delirium of superstition. With this view they encouraged and promoted national Convocations, and all movements which had a tendency to give to their several Governments an increasing influence over the institutions, and sentiment of religion, within their own dominions.

The continental nations had shown more restiveness, and given more signs of impatience, under the bondage of Popery, than England. But even in England there had long been considerable uneasiness, and it increased with the lapse of time. As opportunities arose, the Government and people were prompt to recover back their proper sovereignty in ecclesiastical and spiritual affairs. The abuses of monastic institutions, their tendency to enfeeble the country by drawing into themselves the national wealth and resources, and the power exercised by those who presided over them and controlled the complicated and mighty machinery of the system to which they belonged, had arrested the attention of the enlightened portion of the

population, of the legislature, and of the throne. Acts of Parliament, the object of which was to check and restrain Papal influence, and to bring the Church, as existing in England, under the supervision of the English Government, had been passed at various periods in different reigns, and when Henry VIII. came to the crown, the country was ripe for still bolder and stronger assertions of its legitimate and inherent sovereignty in religious matters.

Early in his reign the public feeling of the nation was strongly expressed in opposition to the immunities claimed by the clergy, especially to the ground they took of exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals, and the penalties of the civil and criminal law of the land. Cases arose which brought these pretensions most glaringly and odiously to view. One Richard Hunne, for instance, a merchant tailor, was sued by a priest, before a spiritual or ecclesiastical court, for certain burial fees, claimed, not under a law of the land, but by authority of the Church of Rome. Hunne retaliated, by prosecuting the priest, for bringing a subject of the King before a foreign court. The clergy were exasperated with him, to the highest degree, for taking this ground. They saw that it struck at the root of their power, by bringing them into fatal collision with the strongest passions that actuate Englishmen, their national pride, insular jealousy, and patriotic spirit. To prevent the further progress of the prosecution, as instituted by Hunne, they got up charges of heresy against him, caused him to be thrown into prison, and there procured his assassination. This transaction raised the popular excitement to the highest pitch throughout the land. The clergy, feeling that decisive measures must be adopted to assert their authority, resolved to make an example of some one of those who were taking a leading part in arousing the nation against their pretensions. A Dr. Standish had signalized himself by maintaining that clerks, or priests, were amenable to the civil tribunals. He was brought before the Convocation for trial and punishment, but instantly appealed to the King, who heard the parties in person. He appreciated the importance of the issue, and clearly saw it was a conflict between the power of a church deriving its authority from a foreign source, on the one hand, and the rights of his people, the dignity of his king-

dom, and the prerogative of his crown, on the other. His decision was in these memorable and characteristic words.

"By the permission and ordinance of God we are King of England; and the Kings of England, in times past, never had any superior, but God only. Therefore, know you well, that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time."

This was in 1514, the fifth year of Henry's reign. That he was justified in declaring that his predecessors had always held fast to the claim of their supremacy, as against all foreign pretensions, even those of the Pope of Rome, can be shown by the ancient records and usages of the Kingdom. When, for instance, a see became vacant, the following course of procedure had long, and probably always, been observed. Its temporalities instantly lapsed into the possession of the crown. The Pope nominated a bishop, who was required to appear, in person, before the sovereign, and solemnly renounce and disavow every thing in his commission from Rome, inconsistent with his allegiance as an English subject, the laws of the land, and the prerogative of the crown; and renewed his oath of fealty, before he could be confirmed in his commission, or enter upon the possession of the temporalities of his bishoprick. We dwell upon this point, in order to show how strongly and deeply the Reformation in England was based upon the constitution of the nation. It was not a rebellion, nor a revolution, but a restoration of the Church to its proper foundation.

It was much hastened in its progress by the influence of Cardinal Wolsey. His power, as the favorite minister of the King, and the legate of the Pope, was greater than ever before or since has been concentrated in the hands of any one man. The unparalleled magnificence of the style in which he lived, and moved before the people, dazzled them into admiration, and brought them under his sway. Majesty covered him with honors, while archbishops and bishops, dukes, earls, and barons emulated each other in doing him homage. His mind was equally great with his condition. He saw with a clear perception the abuses of

the Church, and his vast influence was directed, in many important particulars, to the introduction of reform.

In the mean time, a spirit of inquiry had gone abroad. The most objectionable doctrines of the Church were losing their hold upon the faith of intelligent persons. The general misconduct, the immoralities, the persecuting spirit and violent proceedings of the clergy; the dissoluteness, uselessness, and expensiveness of the religious houses, draining the wealth, exacting the earnings, and depressing and depraving the social and moral condition of the people; the tyranny, usurpation, and corruption of the spiritual courts; and the horrid cruelties practised upon heretics, were producing their natural effects, in implanting in the popular mind a deep and settled repugnance and hostility towards the Romish Church.

In this state of things the question of the King's divorce arose. This has been too much regarded, not only by readers, but by writers of English history, as a private and personal transaction. It is one of the evils attending an hereditary monarchy, that the marriages of sovereigns cease to be private and personal transactions, and that it becomes necessary to arrange them, in reference to those occupying the throne, their nearest heirs, and indeed all who may be within the circle of liability to come to the crown, upon public considerations, often irrespective, sometimes destructive, of the happiness and virtue of the parties. Henry VII., actuated by a conviction that it was of essential importance to the interests of his kingdom to connect his family with the crown of Spain, brought about the marriage of his own eldest son and heir apparent, Arthur, prince of Wales, with Catharine, infanta of Spain. Prince Arthur died, not long after his marriage, without issue. The same reasons of state that led to the arrangement in the first instance, were thought, by those persons who controlled the policy of England at the time, to render it important and necessary to renew and perpetuate the alliance by marrying the young widow of prince Arthur, to Henry, the king's second son, who, by the death of his brother, had become prince of Wales, and heir apparent to the crown. This marriage, to a brother's widow, being within forbidden limits, was authorised by a bull from the Pope. Although rendered necessary, as was thought, by reasons of

state, and justified by the head of the Church, it was from the first regarded with misgivings of conscience by many, and especially by Henry VII., who never was reconciled to it, but protested against it in his dying hour. Henry, prince of Wales, was under age, at the time of his marriage. He was, in his personal feelings, strongly inclined to the match, and there is much reason to believe, that so far as his private happiness was concerned, he would have always continued satisfied with, or at least acquiescent in, the connection. When he came to the throne, he had the question of the legality of his marriage re-examined, heard arguments on both sides, and finally concluded that it was legal and proper. He, accordingly, caused it to be sanctioned anew by an appropriate ceremonial; after which he and Queen Catharine were, with the usual solemnities and splendor, publicly crowned.

The only issue of this marriage that reached maturity was the princess, afterwards queen, Mary. Two sons died in infancy.

When the lady Mary arrived at a suitable age, it became a matter of the highest moment to form a proper matrimonial connection for her, as the interests, integrity, and glory of the nation all depended on it, she being sole heir to the crown. It was proposed to unite the kingdoms of France and England, by her marriage to the French King. This was a project well calculated to awaken the deepest interest in both nations. It was felt by all to be fraught with momentous consequences, and the attention of Christendom was fixed upon the negotiations in reference to it. We can see that, had it been consummated, the policy of the nations would have been revolutionized, and the history of modern times reversed. It would have been by far the most important event in the annals of Europe. No wonder that the project was regarded with the liveliest interest at the time! No wonder that each step of the negotiation was eagerly watched by the eye of the civilized world!

Under these circumstances one of the French diplomatists started the question of the legitimacy of the birth of the British princess, she having been the issue of a marriage forbidden by the Divine law. It was said in reply, that the Pope had given a dispensation, allowing the mar-

riage of her parents. But then the question arose, and was openly put, with a confidence which was, indeed, most reasonably entertained, — has the Pope power to dispense with a Divine law? It can easily be imagined into what a mortifying, embarassing, and uncomfortable position this question brought the English nation. It was a sad thing to have the crown descend to a female, in her to be implicated by marriage with a foreign state, and through her to be transmitted in a succession thus placed beyond their reach, and entangled with the families, and policies, and intrigues, and quarrels of the continent; but to have the succession itself involved in dispute, exposed to reproach, and open, in all future time, to controversy, was justly regarded as filling to the brim the measure of England's prospective troubles and miseries.

The country had been bleeding, for a long series of years, at every pore, in consequence of the conflicting claims of York and Lancaster. The whole nation had been made sensible, by the bitterest experience, of the incalculable importance of a settled and unquestionable succession, and had rejoiced in the confident assurance that, in the family of Henry VII. it could be relied upon. The untimely death of prince Arthur had occasioned universal disappointment. The loss of the infant sons of Henry VIII. had, from time to time, renewed that disappointment. These successive failures of male heirs to the crown had been, with good reason, regarded as the heaviest public calamities. At length the people had settled down into an acquiescence with the only alternative that remained to them, a suitable matrimonial alliance of the lady Mary with some foreign prince, by which the independence of England would not be jeoparded, its power be enlarged, and the peaceful succession of its crown secured. To have this last hope annihilated, by finding that a question of legitimacy was capable of being raised which would subject their government to perpetual vicissitudes, their peace to interruption, and their interests to destruction, was more than the national patience could endure.

It is impossible to determine with positive certainty how far the King was actuated by these cogent reasons of state, and how far by mere personal caprice and passion, in seeking a divorce from his queen. It is not either charitable,

or reasonable to impute his conduct altogether to the latter motive. With all his faults, he was "every inch a king." He appreciated his position as the sovereign head of a nation. He understood his prerogative. He discerned the connection between the stability of his throne, and the independence and prosperity of his country. He was a true Englishman. He had intelligence and patriotism enough to feel the infinite importance to the peace, and power, and even existence of his kingdom, of transmitting his crown through a certain and unquestionable succession. These considerations all operated, aided more or less — how much can be determined only by the Searcher of hearts — by personal motives, in leading him to pursue earnestly his purpose of a divorce.

But it is our design to show that his people — the Lords, and Commons, and body of the nation — sympathized in his earnestness, and were equally convinced of the importance of accomplishing the object; and that, so far as the separation of the Church of England from the Church of Rome was hastened to its consummation by the proceedings connected with the divorce, it was a great public and national movement, involving the highest interests of the kingdom.

As the validity of the King's marriage with his brother's widow rested entirely upon the dispensation which had been procured from the Pope, and of which the authority had been brought into very general dispute, all that was necessary to annul the marriage was, to procure from the Pope another decree reversing and repealing the dispensation. If that were done, the divorce followed of course, and no impediment remained, on any ground, to another marriage, which was, in the judgment of the nation, the only refuge of England from the calamities that threatened her. The King was backed by the earnest wishes and clear interests of his people, in the application, to this end, which he made to the Pope. The two leading potentates of the continent at that time were the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, — the former the nearest and most formidable rival, and from the earliest period of European history up to the present century considered the natural antagonist, of England, — the latter closely allied by the strongest family ties to Queen Catharine. The influ-

ence of these two sovereigns over the Pope was very great, and it was exercised most artfully, perseveringly, and effectually, to prevent the success of Henry's application. Their policy, in pursuing this course, was as obvious as it was provoking, to the king and people of England; it was, to cripple and destroy their power by involving them in a controversy with the head of the then universal Church, and by keeping them subject to the disastrous influences, and inextricable perplexities, of a perpetually uncertain succession.

A long series of intrigues, and equivocations, and broken promises, and irritating disappointments, protracted through four tedious years, marked the course of a fruitless negotiation with the Pope, and gradually alienated the temper of the king and of the nation, until, at length, they indignantly abandoned the attempt to obtain a decree from the Pope. The last act of the proceeding was as follows. The Pope, who had commissioned his legates to try the cause in England, after they had exhausted all conceivable contrivances of delay and interruption there, ordered the case to be adjourned to Rome, and summoned Henry and his queen to appear there in person. This was an indignity which neither the king nor his people could brook. He instantly declared his determination to disregard the order of the Pope, announcing that he would not suffer a thing so much to the prejudice of his crown, as a summons to appear before a foreign court, and that he wished his subjects to know that he recognized no authority, in the Pope or in any power on earth, to cite him out of his own kingdom.

Then commenced the proceedings, suggested by Cranmer, to meet the exigency, and which were designed as a substitute for the action of the Pope, namely, to procure the elaborate and solemn decisions of the universities and schools of divinity, and of the most learned men, throughout Europe, on the question of the legality and validity of the King's marriage.

While this was in progress, the Parliament, acting in concurrence with the King, entered with renewed zeal upon the work of rectifying the abuses and curtailing the power of the Church, and prosecuted it with great deliberation, resolution, and perseverance. Several laws were passed to this effect. Apprehending that the Pope would issue bulls

condemnatory of his proceedings, and in that form endeavor to array against him those of his subjects most under the influence of the Church, the King was determined not to allow such documents to be circulated, or received within his dominions, and issued a proclamation forbidding any of his subjects to have in their possession, or convey to any other person, any document whatever from Rome, under the penalty of "incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments upon their persons."

On the 16th of January, 1531, Parliament met, and the opinions of twelve universities, together with about an hundred books written by the eminent scholars of Europe, in favor of the divorce, were laid before them. The subject was presented in the same manner to the Convocation, or assembly of the clergy, who also expressed a similar opinion. At length, after all these preliminary proceedings, protracted through so many years, the King cut the Gordian knot, passed the Rubicon, brought the controversy to a decisive close, by marrying Anne Boleyn, in the latter part of 1533. In the succeeding February, Parliament met and passed a law, which marks the true era of the English Reformation. The preamble asserts, "that the crown of England is imperial, and that the nation is a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal." It goes on to cite precedents, from the reigns of Edward I., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., of laws asserting "the liberties of the realms, both spiritual and temporal, from the annoyance of the See of Rome, and other foreign potentates"; ordains that all causes shall be tried, and finally determined "within the kingdom," "notwithstanding any appeals to Rome, or inhibitions or bulls from Rome"; and provides that if any spiritual persons should refuse to execute the law of the land, for fear of "censures from Rome," "they were to suffer a year's imprisonment, and fine and ransom at the king's will." Heavy penalties were also imposed upon all who should presume to execute, or procure, any "process or censures from Rome." And it defined the tribunals within the realm of England, before which, in the first instance, and in all appeals, causes of every kind were to be tried, where they "should be finally determined, never to be again called in question."

Upon this the Pope fulminated his bulls of excommunication against the King and Cranmer; and they announced, in reply, that they should appeal from his authority to that of the next General Council. Thus ended the power of Rome over the Church of England.

The historical narrative we have now presented, shows conclusively that the British Reformation was a political event, as much as, nay, rather than, a religious one. Its object was not so much to revolutionize a creed, or amend a doctrine, as it was to assert, recover, and secure, the most precious and invaluable rights of national sovereignty and independence. And viewing the subject in this light, all we have further to suggest is this one consideration, which we particularly commend to the reflection of those Protestants in England and America, if there be any such, who may be disposed to narrow the breach between us and Popery, and to carry us back into greater sympathy with Rome, and who allow themselves to countenance the idea that the Reformation was not so great a blessing as it has been claimed to be. The Reformation was the recovery of the sovereignty, the liberties and the glory of our father-land, — of the land to which our ancestors belonged, and which was our country then — from a foreign influence; it was an expression of the patriotism of the race from which we have sprung, and is identical with those sentiments which alone make us worthy of our Anglo-Saxon origin, and of the inheritance of political freedom and independence we are now enjoying. Just so far as, either in England or America, we undo the work, and retrace the steps, of the Reformation, we are undermining all that the patriot ought to strive to strengthen and confirm, and sacrificing the most sacred elements of national independence. He who gives his influence to bring the minds and consciences, the faith and obedience, of his countrymen under the sway of a power emanating from a foreign source and directed by a foreign potentate, spiritual or temporal, is as justly chargable with a violation of his patriotism and allegiance, as if in any other form he conspired to overthrow, or abridge the sovereignty, independence, and liberties of his country.

It remains for us to consider, how the British Reformation ought to be regarded as a theological, ecclesiastical and religious event. It presents most interesting points of

view in these respects. Although, as we have labored to show, the main object of the Reformation was the recovery of the rightful sovereignty of the nation from the usurping encroachments of the Roman See, at the same time the work was facilitated, and the result hastened, by objections, which had become more or less prevalent in the public mind, to some of the principles and doctrines of Catholicism, so that when the tie was severed that had bound the Church in England to the authority of the Pope, and it became necessary to organize it as a separate and national Establishment, attention was naturally given to the adjustment of its doctrine, as well as of its forms and official order, and of the distribution and exercise of its powers. It is unnecessary to enter into a detailed narrative of the reforms that were made in matters of doctrine and institution. It answers all our present purpose, to call attention to the fact, that they were not attempted at once and summarily, but gradually, by successive decisions of clerical authorities, acting in general Convocation, or in special Commissions, or by Acts of Parliament passed at intervals of time. The point we wish to present is, that, neither at the Reformation nor at any time before, during the undivided ascendancy of the Catholic dynasty, had the principle been maintained, that the Church had reached the *ne plus ultra* of actual truth, in its creed or its forms. Those sects who discountenance all amendment and progress in doctrinal belief, and are resolutely bent upon suppressing inquiry, and keeping the faith of Christians fastened down and back to existing and previously established formularies, can find no shelter in the British Reformation, or even in the structure of Popery itself. Under the Papal system, as has been shown, provision was made for the admission of new light, in the power lodged in the head of the Church, and especially, in the institution of General Councils, which were for the purpose of reforming "errors" as well as "heresies" and "abuses." This power was transferred by the British Reformation to the King, and was exercised by him, through the advising and guiding agency of Convocations and Parliaments — the assembled and deliberative wisdom of the temporal and spiritual guardians and legislators of the nation. Great pains were taken, at successive periods, to revise and amend, and

enlarge and rectify, the ecclesiastical and theological institutions and standards established at and after the Reformation. This power was exercised with caution, but with freedom, and it was expected and desired that it would, in all subsequent time, be exercised. If the Church of England has become a fixture, if it remains fast anchored to old error, and does not advance its position to keep up with the current of theological knowledge and truth, it is not the fault of the Government or of the generation that liberated it from the thraldom of the Roman dynasty. Bishop Hopkins himself justly applauds the conductors of the English Reformation for their course in this respect, in considering their great work, not as an ultimate and consummated movement, but as a progressive one; in

"Holding *frequent Councils*, making thorough investigations into the rich, though complicated, records of antiquity; clearing away, by *slow degrees*, the novelties that had been brought in upon the system of truth, and making no changes but those which the written rule of faith and the primitive decisions under it seemed to require. Hence, no one man gave his name to the English Church: no one presumed to fashion it after his fancy. Many divines there were — bishops and eminent clergymen, bearing the regular commission of judges in the house of God — who were united in the mighty undertaking. Many martyrs there were, who sealed the sincerity of their labors in their own blood. But not one amongst them desired to do aught in the pride of his private judgment, nor to inscribe his own name on the restored and purified temple of the Lord of Hosts."

In the same spirit in which they labored it was their hope that their successors would continue to labor, in the work of keeping bright and beautiful, and of making more bright and beautiful forever, the holy temple of the New Jerusalem as it stands forth to view in the living church of Christ, — in removing every blemish from its walls, every deformity from its proportions, and every defect from its foundations. In this sacred and devout employment wise and good men perseveringly toiled, during the first age of the Reformation. What a pity it is, that the wisdom and learning of the Church are not permitted to direct themselves to the same work, in these later ages!

The value of Burnet's "History of the Reformation," to a great degree, consists in the materials it has gathered together, (in a most unskillful and clumsy form, to be sure,) illustrative of the various progressive movements in adjusting and advancing the Reformation to the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But it did not stop there. After the restoration of the Stuarts, in the reign of Charles II., the object was still pursued. It was evidently the desire of that monarch, to render the Church of England more comprehensive than it was. He declared his purpose to have the Liturgy reviewed and reformed, and such alterations adopted, as would allow moderate and conscientious Nonconformists to come in. This was the object of the celebrated Savoy Conference, held under his auspices in 1661, consisting of the most eminent and learned Bishops on one side, and of such men as Baxter, Lightfoot, Wallis, Manton, Bates, Calamy and Reynolds, on the other. A particular and most interesting account of this important Convention is given in Orme's Life of Baxter, one of the very best specimens of biography ever written. There is much reason to conclude that the failure of the Savoy Conference, and of similar projects during that reign, was not wholly chargeable to the Bishops, or the Government, but to a morbid fear of Popery on the part of the Nonconformists and Independents. They looked with suspicious dread upon every proposal proceeding from the King, which opened a door for them to enter the Establishment, apprehending that the effect would be, if it were not really the design, that Papists would slip in at the same time.

As the project was found encompassed with so many difficulties, it was finally abandoned. But still, without any particular reference to the gratification or comprehension of Dissenters, regarding only the purity and influence and welfare of the Establishment itself, it is much to be regretted that the practice has not been perpetuated of calling convocations of the clergy, at suitable intervals of time, for the purpose of reviewing and revising its articles and ordinances. One of the most interesting events of our day is the movement recently made in the British House of Lords, under the lead of Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, in favor of the renewal of a Convocation, or as it is now called, Ecclesiastical Legislature, for the Established

Church. That he should see the importance, and desire the restoration, of such a deliberative body, is only another evidence of his extraordinary liberality and comprehensiveness of mind; and no greater good could be desired for England than that her Church should be placed, in its administration, under the control of counsellors as enlightened and elevated in their views as this great prelate.

The most imminent and portentous danger that threatens England at this time, lurks in her organization of Church and State. Her commerce, her manufactures, her finances, her colonies, her armies and navies can all be managed, but how is she to bear the burden of her Church? This is the question, as all careful and sagacious observers see, which perplexes and defies solution. The Church is continually receding into a more and more false position, in reference to the people, pressing upon them all with its grinding and odious weight, and retaining the confidence, sympathy, and attendance of only a moiety of their whole number, and that relatively decreasing every day.

The immunities, privileges, and properties of the Establishment cannot be reached by the hand of reform, because they are vested rights, resting upon the firmest basis of constitutional law, and are also so incorporated and inserted into, so inextricably implicated, so identified with, the rights of property and established privileges of the whole people, that they cannot be touched without creating a general shock and convulsion of society. But as the population of the country withdraws from the Establishment, it cannot be prevented from assuming an attitude of hostility towards it; and the final result must be a collision destructive to both parties.

This catastrophe can only be avoided in one way, — by spreading the boundaries of the Church so as to include more and more of the people. Instead of driving and shutting them out, she ought to draw them into her arms, and gather them under her wings. And this can only be done by adjusting her forms and ordinances, from time to time, to the progress of religious knowledge and feeling in the community at large, by removing all unnecessary occasions of repugnance and dissatisfaction, and by paying a respectful heed to the religious associations and sentiments of any considerable portion of the people. By pursuing

this policy, the popularity of the Establishment might be constantly increased, and its usefulness and dignity enhanced. Thousands, and tens of thousands would be attracted back within its pale. The tide would be turned, and its reflux would revive the waste places and fill up the exhausted channels, and cause the springs again to gush forth and the streams to flow, in fulness and fertility and gladness, all over the land. Every national church must pursue this policy, or be ultimately overthrown by a convulsion which perhaps will involve all things else in its own ruin. The church must be made to include the people, or the people will destroy the church.

The greatest misfortune of England at the present day is, that her rulers do not appreciate the moral forces which are organizing against the Government in the religious sentiments and associations of the people, — vastly more formidable than all the Repealers, and Chartists, and Radicals and Rebeccaites, in her realms. All her conquests in Affghanistan and China, all her colonial acquisitions during the last twenty years, have not added a hundredth part so much to her real strength as she has lost in incurring the alienation and opposition of more than half of her subjects in Scotland. In permitting the deep indomitable religious enthusiasm of that people to become arrayed against the Government, her cabinet has committed a greater blunder than if it had lost the richest provinces of her empire.

What is wanting in England is an apprehension, on the part of her rulers, of the religious sentiment in her people. It is the worst feature in the civilization of the age, in America as well as in England and Europe, that the leading minds, — statesmen, jurists, and scholars,—are not interested, as they ought to be, in theology as a system of faith, or in religious institutions as engines of power in the political, social, and moral world. If the great minds of our country applied themselves to this subject, the sects would not any longer slumber in the stupor of an unintelligent faith, or hug the chains of scholastic creeds fastened upon Christendom in the dark ages.

What a melancholy and humiliating sight it was to behold, in the Episcopal Convention assembled in New York city this last year, in the course of the controversy respecting the ordination of the late Mr. Carey by Bishop

Onderdonk, great judges and lawyers and statesmen get up, and avow an implicit faith in the dogmas of the Church! Men who ought to have examined and scrutinized the doctrines of the Liturgy with the same keenness and profoundness of research as they are accustomed to bring to a point of law or government, evidently, nay, by their own confession, took the forms and doctrines of the Church upon trust, avowed a repugnance to inquiry and a determination never to question their accuracy on any one point, and claimed the credit of receiving them with a passive, inert, implicit faith. What a shame, that men who examine and investigate every other subject, allow themselves even to boast that they have not and will not examine and investigate that subject, in reference to which all others are trivial indeed! What a wickedness it is for men gifted with great faculties and opportunities and influence, to give to all other subjects the benefit of the exercise of their faculties and opportunities and influence, and to withhold it from the cause of religious truth and progress!

The American Episcopal Church has within her reach great facilities and privileges. It remains to be seen whether she is wise enough to avail herself of them. She is relieved of innumerable inconveniences and burdens, to which the Church in England is subjected from its implication with the State. At the same time she is really enjoying, and will continue to enjoy, until the fact has arrested the attention and awakened the jealousy of all the other sects, the patronage of our Government in its military and naval departments. She has the advantage of a form of worship, which conciliates the favor, and relieves and gratifies the taste, of large classes of persons, of all possible varieties of doctrinal faith. This very circumstance, if her ritual were expurgated by the exclusion from it of all obsolete and disputed doctrines, would attract thousands upon thousands to her Communion, and give her a great advantage and growing preponderance over all other sects. And, besides this, she enjoys the benefit of an impression, wide spread and long established in the popular mind, and which has not yet been wholly effaced, that within her peaceful, dignified and venerable enclosures neither bigotry nor fanaticism, nor any form of blind and wild excite-

ment, can enter, and that there the lovers of peace and quiet, of sense and decency, are sure of shelter and of rest.

But if the American Episcopal Church suffers herself to continue to be encumbered with doctrines which cannot be made to maintain their hold upon an advancing and enlightened age, — if she obstinately clings to the dress and fashions of the past, instead of adjusting her aspect to the present and the future, — if she makes no provision for the admission of the new light which breaks from time to time, and ever will continue to break, upon the world, into her ritual and her faith, — if she persists in clasping the fading and dying form of Orthodoxy, and shrinks from the presence of reason and inquiry, of knowledge and of truth, — if she allows a haughty disregard of the progress of religious opinion and feeling, and a stupid and feeble formality, or extravagant zeal, or sectarian bitterness, or ignorant enthusiasm to usurp her high places, and utter forth her voice, and infect her spirit; — then is her doom settled. Neither pompous titles, nor imposing ceremonies, nor gorgeous architecture, nor funded millions can save her. As education and real Christianity prevail, she will lose the hold she now has upon certain classes of the people and in some sections of the country, and will then quickly sink into a feeble, dwindling, perishing and obsolete sect.

C. W. U.

Art. II. — THE MIRACLES OF THE GOSPELS.

There is no more striking proof of the Divine origin of our religion, than the singular freedom of its records from all fanaticism. We look through them in vain for marks of over-wrought excitement, of delirious hope, or maddened fear. The most astounding doctrines are taught by the Master with a temperance, and received and repeated by the disciples with a calmness, which can be accounted for only by allowing the supernatural character of Jesus. No one can have read the Gospels, even carelessly, without noticing the unadorned and almost tame manner in which Christ's most wonderful works are recorded. No expressions of surprise, admiration, or excitement escape the writ-

ers. The necessary inference is, that their wonder at the miracles was lost in their reverence for and submission to the being that wrought them. Having once recognized the supernatural character of Christ, it does not seem at all strange to them that he should work wonders. But doubtless they took their calmness from Jesus's own self-possession. What can be more impressive than the simplicity, the naturalness, the humility, with which he exercised his marvellous powers! By what less than divine elevation of soul is it, that he succeeds in keeping his moral and spiritual character above the level of his miraculous character? By what less than supernatural wisdom is it, that the wonder-worker keeps down the curiosity and superstition of his disciples, and excites their moral sensibilities and affections? By what incredible temperance does Jesus avoid in any case making the least display of his powers, or ever dissociating for an instant his miracles from the dispositions or the truths, he came to reveal and illustrate? He is never, for a moment, only a mere wonder-worker. Either his benevolence, his universal sympathy, his pity for the despised, or some important truth or illustration of his religion, is the prominent object in every miracle he works. Jesus does not seem to be followed by a gaping, excited and marvelling crowd, so much as by an expecting, anxious and inquiring multitude. The sick and the sorrowing throng his footsteps. The earnest and aspiring silently hang upon his lips. What he *says* seems more interesting to them than what he *does*. This, it seems to us, is an indisputable proof of the sincerity, the surpassing excellence, and the divine claims of Jesus.

A mere pretension to miraculous powers is the most vulgar assumption in the world; the easiest to make and support before a credulous multitude, who are as willing to be deceived as their false prophet is anxious to deceive them. The slightest appearance of pride or display in Jesus, would excite our just doubts of his supernatural powers. But he seems to know perfectly the necessary suspicion which attaches to miraculous pretensions. He uses his supernatural gift, therefore, for none of the usual purposes of pretenders. He especially disowns as personal to himself, the power by which his works are performed. He wraps himself up in no mysterious, magnifying and fas-

cinating robe of wonder. He carries no conjuror's staff. He introduces his mighty acts without parade. One seems to see a jealous self-respect in the Saviour, prompting him to mix himself up as little as possible with his marvels, as if his personal character disdained the support of external authority. Instead of glorying in his miraculous powers, he uses them, apparently, as little as is consistent with faithfulness to his office. He often puts the admiring crowd aside, when benevolence calls on him to exert his divine faculty. He evidently loves to teach, to pray, and to do good, better than to work wonders. This is what we might expect from a genuine Prophet, and what is entirely inconsistent with the character of a false one.

Jesus's *use* of his miraculous powers served to illustrate his moral and personal character, as much as his possession of them served to establish his official claims. In all spurious pretensions to divine authority in the successful or unsuccessful-founders of religions, miracle has supplied every other deficiency, and swallowed up and destroyed all evidence, but its own. In Christianity, now that the religion is established, if there were any thing we would part with in the evidence, it is the miracles. But we cannot. We retain them, not so much because Jesus now needs them as the seal of his commission, as because they are so inextricably bound up with his character and history. He who is satisfied with the internal evidences of Christianity and asks not about its historical truth, he who cares nothing about its origin, so he can enjoy its precepts, principles and hopes, he who wants not the miracles as proofs, may yet value them as illustrations of the character of Christ and the spirit of his religion. For we see not wherein Jesus's temper, his virtue, holiness and greatness are so apparent, as in the use he made of his miraculous powers. The miracles, then, become invaluable to our religion, both when considered as proofs of its origin, or, to those who deny this, as illustrations of its character. And it seems more incredible that miracles should have been forged or superstitiously attributed to Jesus and then used as they are used in the Gospels, than that they should have occurred. Had miracles been either fanatically or fraudulently ascribed to Jesus by his followers, (and this is the only plausible supposition which accounts for their existence in the record,

except their truth,) they would not have been so temperately and modestly used. Neither enthusiasm nor cunning could have stopped where this marvellous narrative stops. It is contrary to all known principles of human character, to subordinate miraculous pretensions to any others, as they are in the New Testament. With perhaps one instance difficult of explanation, the blasting of the barren fig-tree, there is not a miracle described in the New Testament which does not harmonize with and illustrate Jesus's moral character in the most beautiful and impressive manner; and this, too, without ever being adduced as illustrative of any thing but his official character, and therefore undesignedly and incidentally.

If fraud and fanaticism are thus consistent, possess such lofty ideas of goodness, keep themselves so within the bounds of nature, feign and contrive for the best purposes such moving, beautiful and holy falsehoods or fictions, as Jesus, the inspired and miraculous Teacher of truth; they are so much wiser than any honesty and strict history that we possess, that we see not why they ought not to have all the reverence usually supposed to belong exclusively to reality and divine truth.

If the miracles can be struck from the New Testament without injuring the moral character of Jesus Christ, or mutilating the spiritual truth of his religion, we will consent that they shall go. For it seems to us, that the only good reason for believing that a miracle has occurred, is that you cannot help it. We believe that this was the evidence upon which they were originally received by eye-witnesses, who saw and could not but see that they were works wrought by superhuman powers. That they were not jugglery, illusion, or the effect of superior human knowledge, was apparent to eye-witnesses from a thousand nameless circumstances of reality, which convince independently of reflection. Among these, doubtless, were as principal, the artless and truthful manners of Christ, the strict morals, the lofty and holy truths he taught. Add the entire absence of machinery and the nature and circumstances of the miracles themselves, — as, for instance, the feeding of the five thousand, or that carefully sifted miracle of the man born blind and healed. We see therefore, that instead of denying the reality of his works, his enemies question only the

power by which they were wrought. They say he casteth out devils by the power of the prince of devils. And this they say, evidently only as the less absurd supposition; for his benevolent and holy character must have prevented them from thinking as they spoke.

We do not say that false miracles cannot find believers, or that the testimony of eye-witnesses is in all cases satisfactory evidence that a miracle has been performed; but certainly the involuntary evidence of bitter enemies, who can find no refuge from acknowledging the authority of a supernatural messenger from God, but in ascribing his miracles to the devil is very good proof that the miracles themselves occurred. The enemies of Jesus believed in his miracles, whatever they may have done in regard to other wonders, only because they could not help it. Their testimony therefore is really more satisfactory and important than the evidence of Jesus's friends. Those who received the truths and reverenced the personal character of Christ might accept his miracles, without severe scrutiny; for they must have been so entirely satisfied of the utter incapacity of Jesus to make unreal pretensions, as to have been off their guard. But whether their faith in the Master was not well-founded, whether they were not justified by Jesus's character and the nature of his revelation in giving an unsuspicious assent to any miraculous claims of his, we leave to any honest mind to judge. They could not help, any more than his enemies, crediting his mighty acts, though for different reasons; the foe, because his senses were satisfied and his objection confounded; the friend, because it was absurd, in his judgment, that the holiest and most awe-striking of all beings he had known, the purest and best man, the wisest and most eloquent teacher of truth and righteousness, should descend to deception, to legerdemain, to downright falsehood.

The miracles, then, were received by eye-witnesses, not because they satisfied any known and established tests of wonders, for no such tests existed, but because they could not be disbelieved. Prior to experience, it seems to us that Hume's hypothesis, that if a miracle should occur, it ought not and could not be believed, or at any rate, by any but eye-witnesses, is a very natural supposition. Had no miracle ever occurred, there would be very little reason to

think one possible, or provable. But this objection has vanished with the fact, that miracles have brought their peculiar evidence with them, and that it is useless to tell men they ought not and cannot believe what, with the fullest opportunities of judging and the greatest disrelish for receiving, they cannot possibly disbelieve. The divine character of Christ, the very Gospel itself, was discredited by those very persons, who, although they derived not the designed benefit from the miracles by deducing the truth of Christianity, yet could not disbelieve or deny them. If there be a stronger kind of testimony than this, we are at a loss to conceive of it.

All that has yet been said in favor of the historical truth of the miracles, proceeds upon the supposition of the genuineness of the Gospels; that is, that they were written by the persons whose names they bear, and at the time necessarily implied in this fact. But there is a supposition, which has gained ground abroad and been adopted by individuals at home; that the Gospels did not exist in their present shape till some time in the second century, and that the miraculous portions of them gradually accrued through the love of the marvellous, fed by the confessedly extraordinary impression produced by Jesus, who, the theory allows, was a most holy, sincere and wise man and a great moral Teacher. This supposition entirely acquits Jesus and his immediate disciples of any fanaticism, delusion or false pretensions. It acknowledges the great value of Christ's precepts and character, and allows the absolute truth of his religion, considered independently of its origin. 'If a religion had been revealed from God, it would have been no other than Christianity,' is the doctrine of these rationalists. 'Christianity is therefore as true and as valuable as if it had been supernaturally revealed. It is as true as possible. It is the absolute and everlasting religion. On this very account it is that it needs not the support of miracles. Were it of uncertain truth, it would require this bolstering. As it is, miracles are only an encumbrance, a rock of offence and stumbling-block to Christianity. The religion will never obtain true and universal reverence until its supernatural claims are abated, until it demands respect and obedience on the ground of its absolute truth, instead of its miracles.' This surely is a very respectable position

to assume; and it redounds greatly to the glory of the Gospel, that skepticism has so entirely changed its attitude towards Christianity. Instead of wishing to destroy, it now seeks to build up the Gospel. It claims to have *more* faith than the Orthodox believers. It uses spiritual weapons, and not carnal, against the miraculous portions of Christianity, and would abolish belief in them, not so much because they are irrational as because they are unspiritual. A better and higher life, more faith in God, more resemblance to Jesus, is the professed and doubtless the real object of those who attack the prevailing opinion concerning the origin of Christianity. They claim the name of Christian; and are, in their own estimation, the only Orthodox believers in the Church. This is assuredly a most triumphant tribute to the power and worth of the Gospel. But is it the true ground, or any thing like it?

It is impossible to consider here the historical argument in favor of the genuineness of the Gospels. Whoever has time and interest enough to do this, will do well to read Mr. Norton's great work on this subject. And to the popular mind, even more satisfactory than this work, which is purely logical and strictly scientific, is Mr. Furness's little treatise upon the inherent marks of truth and nature to be detected in the Gospels themselves; a work, which notwithstanding its improbable theory about miracles, has supplied an important vacuum in theological literature, and can never be displaced. Its errors are most reverent and innocent, its truth most beautiful and instructive.

But let us look a moment at this theory, which supposes the Gospels to be in substance a credible tradition, but overlaid with incredible marvels. The Gospels which we have in our hands are, according to this supposition, not the fraudulent, but the superstitious patch-work of unknown persons, who taking up the rumors and superstitions of their time, embodied them in these fables. Is not this theory subject to all the objections which we have just recited against the supposition of Jesus being a fanatic or pretender, and his disciples enthusiasts or knaves? The grand and decisive objection to that hypothesis was, the nature and character of the record; its coherency, simplicity, temperance and unity of effect; in a word the spirit of the books themselves, which is the sincere and holy spirit

of the absolute religion. We yet teach Christianity from the Gospels. We can find no better way to teach it. There is no part of the Gospels, which we fear to read, lest it should not harmonize with the general character of the religion. Instead of hesitating to place any precept, statement or narration, miraculous or natural, in the broad light of day, or of philosophy or of absolute spiritual truth, we rather look into the darkest parts in quest of hidden wisdom. We do not give up the hope of disengaging higher truth than ever from the hitherto obscure parts of the record. With such confidence does the New Testament inspire us, and such has been the experience of the past, that we do not think of arraigning its inconsistencies judicially before our standards, but wait patiently for the clue which shall reconcile them. And it comes sooner or later. Now, if the Evangelical books are not what they claim to be — the simple and whole truth related by credible and believing eye-witnesses; in a word, if these books are spurious, the growth of time and superstition, each the work of various authors, partly true and partly false, partly historical and partly traditional; how happen we to find these harmonious and satisfactory signs of reality and genuineness about them? How have they succeeded in thus imposing upon us? Is it not just as easy to suppose Jesus himself an artful pretender, or his disciples skillful and ambitious forgers of these sacred books, as to believe that a story based on facts gradually grew through superstition into the form of the Gospels, which are nevertheless the only source of all the ideas we have of Jesus or his disciples or his religion? That is to say, we are, according to this notion, indebted to four honest, but superstitious and fabulous books, revised perhaps and harmonized by some fraudulent friend of Christianity, for the revered and unspeakably holy image we have of Christ and of his simple-hearted disciples. Superstition and fraud and tradition combined, have furnished us with the portrait of Jesus's character and life, which transcends all fact or fiction; which has secured the admiration and worship of the best and loftiest and holiest minds for tens of centuries; a character which has not been repulsively inconsistent even with the prevailing dogma of his being the supreme God!

It seems to us a far more natural supposition, that one master spirit should have forged or dreamed the whole fabric of Christianity; that Jesus himself, with self-deluded ambition, should have successfully imposed by juggling or superior science upon his honest disciples, who afterwards recorded naturally and simply what they saw and heard; than that many minds, in many years, half-honest and half false, should have so skillfully woven of many materials and in many looms a garment without seam, such as the Christianity of the New Testament. We must, as mere logicians, sooner believe Jesus an impostor or a fanatic, than believe the histories of his life to be the work of fraud, superstition, or fancy. For it is an established rule in reasoning, that of many suppositions which will account for an effect, we must choose the simplest. We are reduced then to our original dilemma. Is it more rational to believe that Jesus really was the character and exercised the powers he claimed, or to believe that he successfully supported a false character such as his is? There is nothing singular in hypocrisy — in men's pretending to virtues that they do not possess. But a hypocrite, who has an apparent simplicity greater than genuine virtue ever possessed; a liar, who filled others with a reverence for his truth, so great as to create an era in the history of veracity and raise the standard of truthfulness to new heights; a deceiver of his kind, who affected a love for his fellow-creatures, by beneficent acts so numerous, painful and extraordinary that no previous real benevolence ever kept pace with it by an almost infinite distance; a fanatic, whose calmness and sobriety nothing could disturb; an enthusiast, whose temperance controlled the excitement of crowds; an ambitious founder of a religion, who repudiated lip and eye service, abolished forms, waived the worship of his followers and declined their proffered crown; we say, such a hypocrite, fanatic, or enthusiast, is a monster, more incredible than all the miracles of the Catholic Church. It requires a stretch of credulity to believe in such a character, greater than to believe in the largest pretension of Christianity.

Nor are we rid of the difficulty at all by supposing every thing in the account of Jesus true but the miracles, for it is not two nor ten miracles which are ascribed to him; nor are any of them tacked on to him, as an extra claim to a re-

spect he had already excited by other moral and spiritual pretensions; for in this case, we could lop them off and leave Jesus unimpaired. But Jesus does not merely work wonders. He wears a miraculous character. He is represented as born in miracle, as beginning his ministry in miracle, as attended by miracle from beginning to end. Nay, his character is, as we have said, chiefly illustrated by its miraculous circumstances. Even could we separate the *truth* he taught from his works, it is impossible to separate his *character* from them. To believe that Jesus's character was as holy, lofty, meek and wise as it was, but not supernatural, and that superstition afterwards set it in a frame of false miracles, which instead of jarring and contrasting, or in any way producing a disgusting glare or tawdry effect upon it, perfectly harmonises with, heightens and illustrates, not only his official, but his personal character, — is the height of credulity. A character like Christ's but not miraculous, instead of naturally attracting to itself the reputation of miracles, positively repels them; and this is evinced in the great unwillingness manifested by many holy disciples of the Master to associate him with the marvels of the Gospel. Nothing but their actual occurrence will account to us for their ascription to him and their unexpected unity of effect with his moral greatness. If saints since Christ's time have enjoyed the false repute of working wonders, it is only because the pure and holy Jesus really wrought them; not because virtue and holiness excite the marvellous in men, for they on the contrary tranquilize and regulate the judgment and exalt themselves above supernatural things.

We cannot therefore strike out the miracles and then accept Christianity as a historical religion. As history, it stands or falls as a whole. Admit that there is extraneous matter in the Gospels; it would be strange were there not. But there can be no essential change or violation of the original spirit, or introduction of new elements, or classes of facts. There is a marked and peculiar spirit, distinguishing these writings from all others. It is the genuine miraculous spirit that pervades them, as distinct from a marvelling, superstitious or fanatical spirit, as it is from a narrative of ordinary facts. Miracles are the commonest pretension in all history, and false miracles may be said to

have always one expression. We know genuine miracles more by their contrast with false ones, than even by their unlikeness to natural facts. That all false religions have boasted miracles, is the very reason why the absolute religion, the confessedly true religion in a moral and spiritual point of view, would not have endured them, except compulsorily. Nay further, the propensity to miraculous evidence, which is quoted against the credulity of the Christian miracles, ought, if the religion itself be accepted, to be quoted in their favor, since it is contrary to all analogy, for a taste to exist in men, which has not a legitimate object somewhere; and for what purpose could it be allowed to exist better or greater, than to attest and dignify the absolute religion, revealed to human wants and adapted to human weaknesses, through untold ages to come. False miracles, in a certain way, imply and vindicate genuine ones. That all false religions have falsely claimed marvels, is the best reason for expecting that true religion would rest upon actual miracles.

But we must abruptly leave our subject. The supernatural claims of Christianity are destined to be carefully sifted by the present age. If the love of the marvellous is the characteristic of the vulgar mind, the love of the bare matter-of-fact is the characteristic of minds raised only one step above the vulgar. Hastily to disavow faith in miracles, is the common course of minds disenthralled from popular prejudices, but not educated in inquiry or reflection. Incredulity is almost as vulgar as credulity. To believe nothing that transcends common experience, this is the result of a contracted, frigid and vain mind. We believe that the miracles of Christianity are destined to revive the faith and interest of the world in Christianity; that even now there is preparing a new sense of their importance, and a deeper insight into their meaning.

H. W. B.

ART. III. — WHO WOULD NOT BE LIKE THE FLOWER?

Translated from the German of Dr. C. Hering, of Philadelphia.

FATHER dearest, let me be
Here beneath the open sky;
For the flowers are fair to see,
And they smell so pleasantly;
Could I stay 'till day shall fade,
I would find how they are made.

Hearken, child, to what I say:
Not at night are these things made;
In the clear, broad light of day
Are the flowers in robes arrayed,
By the sun with beauty dyed,
And with all sweet scents supplied.

The flower in the morning early,
Silently bethinks her then:
"Shall I bloom to-day right cheerly?"
And then turns her to the sun;
On the flower looks down the sun,
And, lo! before we think, 'tis done.

Look upon this little flower,
Ere its leaves but half unfold,
Here, as in a secret bower,
Its small heart thou may'st behold.
Be that heart all pure within,
Right joyfully the sun shines in;

Gives to every part its hue,
Helps the tender leaves to spread,
Here within too thou may'st view
Where the fragrant sweets are laid.
Who, my child, could e'er have thought
Light alone all this hath wrought!

Mark me now; the simple light
Never could all this have done,

Never made these flowers so bright,
Had they turn'd not to the sun;
To him their hearts they first expose,
And in, the living glory flows.

And so be it, child, with thee,
So thine heart wide open throw,
And the Light shall instantly
All its secret depth o'erflow;
Light, that, both by day and night,
Makes the heart all pure and bright.

W. H. F.

Art. IV.—MEMOIRS OF DANIEL WHEELER.*

Few of our readers, probably, have heard of Daniel Wheeler, "Minister of the Society of Friends," and it is not our intention in this article to go much at length into his personal history, or offer any methodical and detailed account of his "labors." But his life presents a singular, if not instructive example of activity, and his Letters and Diary may furnish some pleasing and useful extracts; which we the more readily give, as the work from which we take them, has not, we believe, been republished, and, we presume, is very little known in this country.

From a short autobiographical sketch, relating chiefly to the events of his early life, it appears that Daniel Wheeler was born in London in 1771. His parents were members of the Established Church. When under twelve years, he lost both of them, and the family were left in somewhat straightened circumstances. At an early age, a friend procured for him the place of midshipman, and he remained in the Navy nearly six years. During this period his conduct, according to his own account, was not the most exemplary, and was afterwards severely condemned by himself. Soon after leaving the Navy he found himself

* *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of the late Daniel Wheeler, a Minister of the Society of Friends.* London: 1842. 8vo. pp. 793.

reduced to "complete poverty," and after many fruitless attempts to procure a subsistence in other ways, he entered the Army as a private soldier. He went with his regiment to Ireland, where he was engaged in "harrassing service," and exposed to much "personal danger." Meanwhile the French Revolution broke out, and he embarked with the troops for Holland, where he was present in several battles and skirmishes. He gives some painful details of what he witnessed and suffered during this period. At this point the autobiography ends, and the narrative is continued by his son, the compiler and editor of the present volume.

Having obtained a commission, he sails, in 1795, with a regiment for the West Indies. Encountering a storm at sea and being in circumstances of imminent peril, he grows thoughtful, becomes dissatisfied with the military profession, and early in 1796 quits the service, and returns to England. He soon adopts the principles of the Friends, or Quakers, and the next year is "received into membership." He settles in business, choosing the peaceful occupation of the "seed trade," marries, and in 1816 is acknowledged as a minister of the Society of Friends.

In 1814 the late Emperor Alexander of Russia visited England, and was "much struck with the perfection of the English system of farming." In connexion with this, his attention was drawn particularly to the Society of Friends, and three years after, having determined "on the drainage and cultivation of certain marshes and waste lands," in the vicinity of St. Petersburg, he was desirous to engage the services of a member of the Society, and sent to England for this purpose. Daniel Wheeler consents to go on a visit of observation and inquiry, and leaves England for Russia in June, 1817. Here he passes some time in examining the waste Crown lands and marshes in the neighborhood of the capital, and making reports of the result; he has an interview with Prince Galitzin, and afterwards with the Emperor himself, who gives his ready assent to all his proposals, asks him a great many questions about the principles of the Society of Friends, and listens to an exposition of them. In truth Wheeler seems to have blended the characters of the agriculturalist and religious missionary, and the dress, manners, and peculiarities of worship which

mark the denomination of which he was a member, appear to have attracted no little observation in Russia, being something new.

An arrangement being satisfactorily made, Wheeler returns to England for his family, and in the summer of 1818, having amply provided himself with "agricultural implements, seeds, and cattle," proceeds to Russia, and settles at Ochta, near St. Petersburg. We pass over his accounts of a Russian winter, the thermometer being at times at thirty-seven below zero, and the effect of the cold such, he says, that when he was exposed to it in the street, and shut his eyes, "it was difficult to open them again," and wolves went mad. He had several interviews with the Emperor, at different times, some of which he describes, and they must occasionally have been not a little curious. At these interviews religious conversation was often introduced. Sometimes they "sat down in silence," occasionally interrupted by speech, in the "manner of the Friends," and the Emperor would lay his hand on his heart and say, "he felt it." On one occasion, says Wheeler, "our large family Bible lay in one of the rooms; on seeing it he opened it, and readily turned to the 119th Psalm, which he said he had read that morning. He had a copy of the Scriptures in the carriage, which he always carries with him."

All Wheeler's accounts of the Emperor leave a favorable impression of his character. During the inundation at St. Petersburg in 1824 he made great personal exertions, by which numerous lives were saved and much suffering was alleviated. Many other instances are given illustrating the benevolence of his nature. The circumstances of his illness and death are related, which together with the events that subsequently took place in the capital, would furnish matter for an interesting extract, had we room. The following, from a letter in 1827, presents a pleasing view of the character of Alexander's successor.

"The Emperor Nicholas is indefatigable in his exertions to support the interests of his people throughout the Empire, by strictly insisting upon the most rigid adherence to justice in all cases; which has given great satisfaction. His leisure hours, at least those absolutely necessary for exercise, he makes subservient to the general good, and is daily going about to inspect the

hospitals and other public institutions, in the most minute manner, which has already had a salutary effect.

"I may be mistaken, but I think that he is almost the first crowned head that ever entered the doors of a prison, with the benevolent object of inquiring into, and improving its state; this he has lately done, and not in a superficial manner; having, in many instances, entered closely into the examination of particular cases with great interest, and caused many to rejoice in being set free. This work is carried on without any parade; he just steps into a sledge with a single horse, and no one knowing where he is going, of course there can be no preparation made to receive him; in this manner all are taken by surprise, and the real state of things fairly developed, whether rough or smooth."—p. 134.

During his residence in Russia, Wheeler, as before intimated, acted as a sort of quiet missionary. Religion seems never to have been absent from his thoughts, and he now began to pant for a wider field of operation. In 1832, therefore, he resigns his appointment, which he appears to have successfully executed, and sails for England, leaving his family behind, his eldest son succeeding him in superintending the improvements which had been made. His plan now was, to make a visit of Christian love to the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and having with the assistance of his friends purchased the Henry Freeling, "lately a post-office packet" of 101 tons, he sails on this errand in the autumn of 1833. The volume gives copious extracts from his journal kept during the voyage, containing accounts of the tremendous storms the vessel encountered, especially on her passage round the Cape of Good Hope, but otherwise presenting few incidents which possess any particular interest. In September of next year he arrives at Van Diemen's Land; he afterwards visits Botany Bay; and sailing for the Society Islands early in 1835, reaches Tahiti about the last of April.

His usual method, on visiting the Islands, was first to call on the missionaries, who in all cases gave him a friendly reception, then by their concurrence and help to hold meetings after the manner of the Friends. Some of these meetings were holden on ship-board for the benefit especially of the sailors, whether English or American, who might chance to be in harbor, but most of them were holden on land and were composed mainly of natives. At

these meetings Wheeler's certificates from the Society of Friends at home were usually first read in the language of the inhabitants; this was followed by an interval of "silent waiting," during which our missionary of love generally found his mind much "exercised," and was finally "moved" to speak, — one of the missionaries, or some other individual, acting as his interpreter. This was a novel proceeding in these Islands, for they had never before witnessed a Quaker, or Friends' meeting. In nearly all cases, however, the people manifested great seriousness, listened attentively to what was uttered, and expressed their gratitude for this visit of benevolence. The addresses of Wheeler are full of the spirit of love; occasionally some of the principles of the Society of Friends are explained in them, especially the nature of their "silent worship," but nothing appears to have been said in them which could excite jealousy in the breasts of Christians of other denominations, through whom the Islanders had been converted to the faith of Jesus. Indeed the harmony which seems scarcely for a moment to have been interrupted, between Wheeler and the regular missionaries, or resident teachers, forms one of the most beautiful features of the narrative, and rarely has there been witnessed a more decisive manifestation of the spirit of Christian brotherhood.

Tahiti, [Otaheite,] as is well known, is the largest of the Georgian, or Society Islands, being about a hundred miles in circumference. The following extracts from Letters of Charles Wheeler, son of Daniel, and his companion on this South Sea visit, relating to the religious character of the inhabitants, or the state of Christianity in the island, are the more deserving of attention, as the Wheelers, from not being connected with any of the Missionary establishments, or with the mercantile interest, may be regarded as disinterested and independent witnesses, and their habits of observation and great uprightness and Christian benevolence add weight to their testimony.

The population of Tahiti, which was estimated by Cook at 100,000, was, when Wheeler visited it, reduced to 10,000. "The low lands next the sea, which constitute but a small portion of the whole island, are universally selected by the natives for the place of their abode." The tropical heats and the ease with which subsistence

is procured, are attended with their usual effects on these islanders. "There is nothing, perhaps, in the Tahitian habits more striking or pitiable than their aimless, nerveless mode of spending life. The community, with the exception of a few foreigners, or foreignized natives, might seem to exist to fish, pluck and eat fruit, bask in the sun, dabble in the water, or frolic on the sand."

"Their outward circumstances, there can be no doubt, have derived material benefit from the introduction of Christian teachers and civilized regulations, so far as they have been introduced; these, besides preventing certain Pagan enormities amongst the natives, constitute a valuable check to the vicious and overbearing conduct of foreigners, which so lamentably sullies the history of these islands. Adventurers of all kinds are not now at liberty to take up their abode on shore, without reference on the part of Government to their respectability and motives in coming; but certain credentials or recommendations, as we are told, are required, without which no one is encouraged or openly allowed to remain. This is a very useful restriction, as previously to its adoption the most worthless characters have caused much disorder and misery by settling among the natives and marrying, to remain only till caprice has dictated the desirableness of a move, when their families have been deserted without scruple or redress."—pp. 753, 754.

How much of real Christianity there is among the inhabitants presents a different question.

"It is nearly impossible for a visitor, who cannot even speak the language, to pronounce with much certainty on a subject of such moment, as the religious state of the community. Certainly appearances are unpromising; and however unwilling to adopt such a conclusion, there is reason to apprehend that Christian principle is a great rarity. Far, however, be it from me, to depreciate the labors of those who have been the instruments of the change produced in this island. So far from considering the beneficial results of their efforts as unimportant and insignificant, I regard them as of the highest moment, and as fully equal to what could in reason have been anticipated. In my opinion, if nothing more had been effected by the Tahitian Mission than the translation of the holy Scriptures into the language of the country, every sacrifice that has been made would have been abundantly rewarded. But the translation of the sacred writings is not all. Idol worship, the adoration of nonentities, or of supposed divinities, in the form of images, with all the frightful train of debasing ceremonies and human

sacrifices, are abolished; open infanticide, which prevailed to such a dreadful extent, is done away; and some degree of attention is paid to the improvement of the minds of children."*—pp. 757, 758.

This is to look on the favorable side. On the other side are the vices and misery introduced by foreigners, and the effects of the almost universal selfishness they have manifested, and in but too many instances, continue to manifest in their traffic with the natives. Take the following from the diary of Daniel Wheeler at Tahiti.

"We have met with great civility and willingness to lend a helping hand in many of the American captains; at the same time, we are frequently sensible of a mixture which cannot be reconciled. The foregoing remark has no allusion to the inconsistent conduct of the crews of many of the American vessels, which we have fallen in with here, that are called 'temperance ships.' At first I could not but view these with satisfaction, and with a degree of thankfulness, as likely to contribute by their example to the welfare of the islanders. But, alas! I now find, with horror and surprise, that the word 'temperance' applies only to the ships, and not to their crews, none probably of which are members of a temperance society; they are merely bound by articles, that the voyage shall be performed without any spirits being on board, except as medicine, and their sobriety only exists because they cannot get the liquor; when on shore, and unbound by these articles, they are lamentably, in many instances, notorious for drinking to excess; and their immoral conduct, at this place, makes me shudder for the awful and woful consequences, both as regards themselves, and the daughters of Tahiti. Although great exertion is made and promoted by the Missionaries here to stop this overwhelming torrent of iniquity, yet all their measures are abortive, and can never be successful unless co-operated with on the part of the masters of the shipping. Notwithstanding the disuse of spirituous liquors is rigid-

* The practice of compelling the people to attend public worship, in some of the Islands, however, is more than once alluded to with disapprobation by the Wheelers. Thus, Charles says, "the same compulsory system which obtains in Tahiti, ensures for the present in Eimeo an external attention to the services of the chapel; but the very existence of this detestable regulation indicates unsoundness. The fact that the poor native is subjected to a penalty if he absents himself from the chapel, and the sight of a man with a stick ransacking the villages for worshippers, before the hour of service,—a spectacle we have witnessed,—are so utterly abhorrent to our notions, that I cannot revert to the subject without feelings of regret and disgust."—p. 763.

ly enforced at Tahiti, and no person is allowed to have the article in his house; yet this bane of the human race is still to be purchased on shore, and the supply is kept up by the American ships; it is clandestinely landed amongst the supposed empty casks which are sent on shore for water, (an instance of this kind took place a few days ago,) and by other methods. A considerable quantity was brought in last week by an American schooner from Valparaiso, and safely landed; but has since been discovered, the casks destroyed and their contents totally lost. By what is said, I do not mean to imply that this gross immorality is confined solely to the crews of the American vessels, because those of the English are perhaps equally implicated, but with this difference, they do not assume the character of 'temperance ships.'

"How dreadful and appalling the consideration, that the intercourse of distant nations should have entailed upon these poor, untutored islanders, a curse unprecedented and unheard of in the annals of history; it is said that one-fourth of the whole population is miserably affected with disease brought amongst them, and kept up by the licentious crews of the shipping." —pp. 316, 317.

We find Wheeler frequently returning to this subject. Speaking of the Islands of the Pacific generally, he says: "scarcely a ship arrives, but it has for sale rum, muskets, and gunpowder." We are aware that things have changed somewhat for the better since, and recent accounts especially are very encouraging.* Still the evil referred to, is far from being wholly corrected, and the "demoralizing and devastating effects" of traffic, and intercourse of the natives, with foreigners who visit their shores, present a subject of painful reflection. Civilized nations have much to do, to repair the wrongs they have inflicted on these simple and unsuspecting Islanders, whose confidence they have abused, and whose morals they have corrupted.

The following passage, which illustrates the Quaker views of the Gospel, will also show the manner in which Wheeler was accustomed to speak to the natives on the subject of religion, and we cannot but think such preaching more useful than the method frequently adopted, of begin-

* Thus it is said, that seventy hogsheads of rum being recently put up at auction "at Honolulu, only five were sold, and this was after the sale had been in vain attempted at several other places which had been visited," and that at the Marquesas and Tahiti "munitions of war and spirituous liquors are declared contraband."

ning with the hard metaphysics of theology, or insisting on a belief of the dark and austere doctrines of Athanasius and Calvin as necessary to make men Christian.

"As we proceeded, the company more and more settled down into serious thoughtfulness. One person, however, seemed very desirous to understand what was my real object in coming to their Island (one of the Society Islands); several reasons were alleged, but they were evidently not comprehended or not satisfactory. The spirituality of the Gospel dispensation was gradually brought before the view of their minds; and it was strikingly evident that there was a fertile soil or good ground prepared by the ever-blessed Husbandman, in the hearts of some present, for the reception of the sacred truths that were afterwards disclosed to their view. Some of them acknowledged that they had never seen things before in the same light, but at once yielded assent from sensible conviction. The important distinction was explained to them between the Word which was in the beginning with God and was God, and the Bible; a subject on which their ideas were confused from having been accustomed to hear the Scriptures styled 'the word of God.' After alluding to the memorable conference between the Saviour of the world and the woman of Samaria, * * I asked them, if they had not at seasons felt something within themselves, which brought to their remembrance sins and transgressions that had been long ago committed — things which they would be glad to forget, much rather than remember with painful retrospect, — querying whether they had not been long sensible of this, before they ever saw the face of a missionary, or heard his voice? On this some of them shook their heads, and answered in the most satisfactory manner with unequivocal simplicity and sincerity, — Yes, *that* they had long enough ago; proving a fact which I have never doubted, since the Lord Most High was pleased to reveal the Son of his love to my finite understanding, that the Gospel has been preached in and unto every creature under heaven. I reminded them of the Apostle's declaration to the Romans, 'That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God has showed it unto them;' and, 'He hath shewed thee, O! man, what is good.' This I told them was that Gospel 'which was preached to every creature which is under heaven,' — to every son and daughter of Adam. On their saying that they had never heard of this before, S. W. replied, that they had always been exhorted to pray for the Holy Spirit, to seek and they should find, &c.; but they said, 'never in this way,' and * * I told them, — now they might know for what I had come among them, in the love of the everlasting Gospel." —pp. 361, 362.

After visiting other Islands in the group, our good missionary sails for the Sandwich Islands, where he arrives near the end of December. Here he remains about six months, attending meetings of the inhabitants, addressing the people and their chiefs, and maintaining friendly intercourse with the American Missionaries, who receive him kindly, act as his interpreter, and do all in their power to facilitate the object of his visit. So much has been recently written and published concerning these Islands that few extracts need be given.

"Of the Sandwich Islanders, as a race," says Charles Wheeler, "I think highly. They are intelligent, grave, inquiring, and peculiarly inoffensive and docile. No one who has seen much of them, can, without great injustice, refrain to admit that the minds of these natives are quite capable of improvement and elevation; there are difficulties connected with their instruction, but the ground-work of natural capability is indisputably there. Less volatile and playful than the Tahitians, their gravity might, in some cases, be mistaken for moroseness; but no people could be more conciliating and ready to oblige than they generally are. Their curiosity is excited by every thing new which is brought under their notice, and to prove their observation, we need only look at the improvements and conveniences which they have adopted or ingeniously imitated."—p. 770.

"The appearance of the native dwellings, gardens, &c., is indicative of much greater industry than any thing seen at Tahiti; but as to civilization or comfort, I will say but little. The huts strikingly resemble in appearance old hay-stacks, having sides as well as roof of thatch: they are, however, well adapted to the climate, being at once a protection from the heat and the cold. One of the king's houses, and the native chapels which we have seen, are composed of this very homely material. The dwellings of the chiefs are more or less modelled upon those of the white residents. Some of them are really quite respectably furnished, and capable of containing the rare elements of comfort and convenience. The American Missionaries, excepting in some places where stations have been but recently occupied, are uniformly provided with comfortable houses, built, as nearly as circumstances will admit, in home style and often of home materials; neat stone, or coral, or mud-brick walled cottages, shingled or roofed with zinc, plastered, and floored and ceiled; the wood-work in some cases imported from America, whereby the natives are furnished with models, and they have already, in several instances, availed themselves of the advantage." —p. 771.

Of the general conduct and character of the American Missionaries, and the effects of their residence on the Islands, the writer speaks in favorable terms. One particular he mentions which is of some importance.

"The missionaries, wherever we have been, form an important civil defence for the poor natives, which the overbearing and unjust encroachments of foreign adventurers render needful. They occupy the opposite side; while others combine to support their individual interests, or the more general interests of commerce and national aggrandizement, the missionary takes the part of the islander; he informs him of his just right, remonstrates for him against injustice, and what is more important still, he constitutes a continual witness of the lawless conduct, in which unprincipled men indulge abroad."

Mr. Wheeler, in the main, shows much practical shrewdness, yet we cannot but marvel that he allowed himself to be so egregiously imposed upon, as we are confident he must have been in the case we are about to give. From our knowledge of the American community, and of the people of Boston in particular, we do not hesitate to pronounce such a case impossible. Indeed the idea of a ship's crew from this city, composed of such only "as deny the existence of an Almighty Being," is altogether absurd. We give Wheeler's words, however, as contained in his journal. The place referred to is Honolulu, and the date the 25th of April, 1836.

"On observing the —— of Boston preparing for sea, our mate was despatched with a parcel of tracts, &c., for the use of the ship's company; when he got upon her deck, the chief mate came forward, and seeing what he had in his hand, said, 'We do not receive any of those things; we are all infidels: we do not want any thing connected with the Bible; but if you will bring us any of the writings of Voltaire, Tom Paine, or Rousseau, we shall thank you for them: give Captain's compliments to Mr. Wheeler, and say we don't want any thing of the kind; and if you persist in leaving them, they shall be thrown overboard.' Our mate returned on board quite discontented, having never before met with such a reception in the Pacific. There is great reason to fear that there are many of this description in these parts; but such an open avowal is rarely to be found. Upon inquiry, it appeared that no sailors are admitted on board this ship, but such as deny the existence of an Almighty Being." —pp. 484, 485.

Early in July, 1836, Wheeler sails for the Hervey Islands; thence he proceeds to the Friendly Isles, where he meets the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, they being the first Members of the Wesleyan Missionary Society he had found in the Pacific, and the whole mission belonging exclusively to them. Here he meets the same cordial reception as in the other Islands, and pursues a similar course, addressing the people, and distributing Bibles and tracts. One singular custom is mentioned as prevalent in one of these Islands, and is adduced as illustrating the peculiar sensitiveness of the people. In *civilized* communities a person who feels himself aggrieved by another, often fights a duel; in Rarotonga, instead of seeking the life of his adversary, he goes and hangs himself. The Friendly Islands, so called by Captain Cook, when he first visited these "comparatively friendly shores," have very few of them as yet, Wheeler says, been occupied by missionaries. Those which have, appear to have been greatly benefited by the introduction of Christianity into them.

As evidence of the docility of the people, Charles Wheeler, speaking of one of these Islands, says:

"The king has renounced idolatry and embraced the doctrines of Christianity; he has put away all his wives but one, become a local preacher and a class leader, in the Methodist Society. The queen is a class leader, and a teacher in the schools, and nearly the whole population of these islands on which missionaries reside, have been admitted into the church. There are no less than one hundred and seventy native local preachers, who are employed in all parts of the Haafuluhau group, and thirty chapels in which there is service three times a week. The people, thus led by their king and chiefs, attend diligently to the instructions of their teachers, and have already acquired considerable Scripture knowledge, and a taste for reading and writing."

Their characters, too, are elevated, their morals and manners improved, and they are better clothed and better fed, and altogether enjoy more of the comforts of life than that portion of the inhabitants who remain in their Heathen state.*

* "According to missionary information, 23,000 persons have renounced idolatry in this group, within the last ten years. Of these, 9,000 are

"As regards the character of the Islanders," says Charles Wheeler, "I prefer that of the Friendly Isles, to that of any other natives of the Pacific whom we have seen. Such a preference may be more than is generally awarded them; but several reasons might be alledged for the relative estimate that has been formed of them and the other Islanders. Many of the voyagers who visit this ocean, are men of miserably low moral feelings and habits, and as such, they unite in eulogizing the natives whose manners are most congenial to their own. On this account, the voluptuous effeminate Tahitians are spoken of in high terms, though they certainly will not bear comparison with these more sober and manly Islanders. I think these people are less prone to sensual indulgence than either the Sandwich, Georgian, Society, or Hervey Islanders. But if less depraved, I do not think them at all less sensitive or susceptible of the kindly emotions: they evince quite as much affection towards each other, and towards their children. They are not so volatile and frivolous as [the] Tahitians, and perhaps they may not be quite so quick and lively as the Hervey Islanders, but their gravity and good sense are accompanied by nothing particularly austere, much less ferocious: on the contrary, they are [as] gentle and affable as children."—pp. 784, 785.

Those of the Friendly Islands visited by our voyagers, furnish, with three exceptions, "complete specimens of

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members of the Wesleyan Society, 329 are local preachers, and 1,100 are school teachers."—p. 785.

We have no wish to underrate the amount of good which has resulted from missionary efforts. A disposition of this kind we have sometimes seen manifested, with which we have no sympathy. At the same time we believe harm comes from extravagant statements respecting the success of attempts to introduce Christianity among the Heathen. We cannot doubt that there has been great, we hope innocent, exaggeration in many official documents relating to this subject. We have recently seen a remark, coming from a quarter where we ought to be able to look for correct information, which probably expresses the truth more nearly than is usual in such estimates; and while it shows that enough has been accomplished to justify a continuance of labors for the diffusion of the Gospel in Heathen countries, it proves how slowly the work must proceed. In a notice of an Address by Rev. Thomas Lafon, late a missionary of the American Board at the Sandwich Islands, who has resigned his connexion with the Board in consequence of its accepting support from slaveholders,—a notice originally published in the Cincinnati *Philanthropist*, but copied into the official paper of the New York Union Missionary Society,—it is said, that "The barrenness of the results of the labors of our various Missionary Establishments, compared with the immense outlay of means, is a topic of common remark. Nearly thirty years have gone by, since the organization of the American, the Baptist, and Methodist Boards of Missions, but during that whole period it is calculated that the conversions through their agency have scarcely numbered forty thousand."

coral formation," on a large scale. "Coral obviously forms the fathomable ground-work; the soil is quite superficial, and underneath is coral rock and salt or brackish water. One of the Haabai Islands is said to rock frightfully during heavy gales, which tends to prove its incomplete solidity under water; and some others exhibit various indications of hollowness." All of them are extremely subject to earthquakes and destructive gales. The soil, however, is fertile, producing abundance of tropical vegetation, and the climate fine, there being no season which can be properly called *rainy*, as in Tahiti, where "several months of the year are rendered almost unavailable by incessant rains."

The end of the year 1836 finds the Wheelers at New Zealand, the inhabitants of which are among the rudest and most warlike of the Islanders of the Pacific, resembling, we are told, the North American Indians to a degree that would be scarcely credited, "in appearance, habits, and *Jewish* customs." A belief in a future state, and in superhuman agency, is universal among them. The following illustration by a New Zealander, of his idea of the Supreme Being, indicates a refinement of thought which we should not have attributed to an "untutored savage." When asked "what their god was — what he was like, — the warrior placed his hand so as to produce a shadow on the trunk of a huge tree that stood near, and told his interrogator to look at that. 'There,' said he, 'is our god; — he exists, but you cannot touch him or injure him; he is before your eyes, yet you can discern no substance in the form you see and know to exist.'"

The visit among the Islands of the Pacific ended, Daniel Wheeler returns to England by way of Cape Horn, and arrives in London the first of June, 1838. At the end of three months, he is off again to Russia, and in a little less than two months more, back to London, returning through Finland and Stockholm. After remaining in England about a month, he sails for America, for the purpose of visiting the Societies of Friends on this side of the Atlantic. He attends the yearly meetings in Philadelphia, Virginia, New York, and New England, visits Nova Scotia and Canada, returns to Philadelphia, and goes to Ohio, thence back again to New York, where he embarks for England the first of November, 1839. Having determined on a

second visit to this country, he takes ship for New York, the last of March, 1840, becomes ill on the passage, and survives a little short of two months after landing.

Such rapidity of motion would seem to indicate somewhat of a restless disposition, from which we think Wheeler was not wholly free, which early, indeed, manifested itself, but which grew upon him with time, till repose seems to have become absolutely painful to him. That this, however, was united with great warmth of Christian benevolence, none can doubt. The journal of his wanderings often forces us to reflect on the power of Christian love, which ever animated him, enabled him to bear up under every discouragement, and cheerfully to undergo labor and fatigue, and make many pecuniary sacrifices. There is much in such a character which excites our admiration and inspires reverence. The narrative, it is true, contains few stirring incidents, and many of the details of the volume possess no special interest for the public; but there is much in it that is valuable, and we might very easily have extended our extracts. Wheeler had no great affluence of intellect, and seldom, if ever, indulges in any original trains of thought; his mind was entirely practical, and his reflections are often commonplace enough; his addresses too have great sameness, and many will think them occasionally wearisome. Yet we cannot help sympathizing with his downright Quaker simplicity and benevolence, and we close the volume with a hearty disposition to pronounce a blessing on his memory, and with the wish that the world more abounded in men of so much moral purity and worth.

A. L.

Art. V.—BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

The public is at length permitted, and we doubt not many will be eager to avail themselves of a privilege which they have long coveted, to look upon the grand historical picture of Belshazzar's Feast, painted by Allston, and now exhibited at the Corinthian Gallery in this city. The subject is taken from the fifth chapter of the Book of the Prophet Daniel. According to the account given in that

portion of the sacred narrative, Belshazzar, the Babylonian king, "made a great feast to a thousand of his lords." Being elevated with wine, he commanded the sacred vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the temple in Jerusalem, to be brought, "and the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank in them." In the midst of the banquet a man's hand appeared to the king, and wrote certain mysterious characters upon the wall. The terrified monarch called for the astrologers and soothsayers, who came in, but were unable to read and interpret the writing. He then sent for Daniel, who had been carried into captivity with his countrymen the Jews, and who had been highly esteemed and honored for his wisdom, by Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel appears before the king, interprets the writing, and, to the dismay of his hearers, predicts the speedy overthrow of the Chaldean monarchy. Such is the subject which the painter has treated in a masterly style.

It is generally known that the picture was left unfinished by the artist. In the descriptive pamphlet, furnished to those who visit the exhibition, we are informed that "Mr. Allston began it in London, before his return to his native country, and had very nearly finished it here fifteen or twenty years ago. Various circumstances prevented his resuming the work until within a few years before his death. At one period it was considered by himself as requiring not many weeks' labor to complete it. In that state it was seen by some friends, to whom it appeared a finished picture. For some reason, however, the artist thought that the effect of the composition would be improved by a change in the perspective, and in connexion with this, an enlargement of the figures in the foreground." These changes had been commenced and were in progress, when the labors of the artist were arrested by his death.

If, according to the pamphlet from which we have already quoted, "for artists, the unfinished state of the picture hardly diminishes its value," we may say, with equal truth, that this circumstance hardly diminishes its interest to the beholder. It is sufficiently completed to present the general conception of the painter, and the alterations in progress have the effect to superadd to the pleasure derived from viewing a work of high art, the associated idea of him

whose last touches were here given only a short time before death robbed his hand of its cunning, and changed himself into an image stamped upon the memory of his friends. On our first visit to the exhibition, there was something bordering upon solemness in the impression produced. The feelings were akin to those with which one would enter the room, yet undisturbed in its minutest arrangements, where but recently had lived and moved, sat and studied, mused and conversed, a person loved for his worth, or honored and admired for his genius. And by a kind of delusion which would perpetually recur, we could not rid ourselves of the fancy that the artist would return, and take up again the brush and palette, and give the designed enlargement to that royal figure, gazing upon the mysterious "hand-writing upon the wall," — invisible, and meant to be invisible to the spectator, — and finish the picture in detail, before it should be given up to the cherishing custody of the public taste. One moment we would imagine, that we were specially privileged by the artist in being permitted to look upon his work while it was still under his eye and hand; and the next moment we seemed to ourselves to be intruders, who had by stealth gained admittance into his private room, and we expected he would enter and find us examining his unwrought fancies.

We have not the presumption to attempt a criticism of this grand performance as a work of art. We are content to lack that æsthetic skill which would qualify us for such an office. He who knows enough of the mystery of any art to be competent to criticise, very likely knows too much to be deeply impressed and affected by what he analyzes so acutely. He whose attention is not distracted by a critical survey and scrutiny, can yield his whole mind and open his heart to the moral or sentiment conveyed through the representation.

And there is high and solemn teaching in this painting of the Babylonian monarch and his court, interrupted in the midst of their guilty banquet by the suggestions of conscience and by the message of God. On every one of those varied countenances a lesson is written which the beholder will do well to ponder.

We have, in this production of our gifted countryman, another added to the many proofs which the world pos-

sessed before, that the religious sentiment is the source of all the most finished and most enduring achievements of art. The costliest and most richly ornamented, the largest and most majestic piles that architecture has ever reared, have been designed to give suitable expression to the sentiment of reverence in the soul of man, to be an outward symbol of the highest and best conceptions, which prevailed at the time, of the Deity. And the attempt to give fit outward form to such conceptions has done more than all else to rouse genius, to quicken the inventive faculty, to render prolific the imagination. It is true that many of the edifices, which have been admired by age after age as models of art, were devoted to false worship—to the worship of idols, or of the sun and other inanimate objects, or of divinities whose attributes were cruelty and ferocity or voluptuousness. They were erected, it may be, for the service of religions whose particular ideas and practices we abhor. Still they were the result of the highest and purest conceptions that existed when and where they arose. And probably they arose from ideas which never were popularized, ideas which belonged exclusively to a few, while common minds groaned under the superstition of which they were made the instruments.

Similar remarks might be made, with equal truth, of music, of literature, of eloquence, of painting. Religion has invariably been the prompter and the theme of the master-efforts in all these arts. From religion the highest inspiration has been drawn. What a complete refutation do such facts afford of the shallow argument of some infidel writers, who allege that religion is the invention of priests and politicians, to subserve their own selfish purposes. Religion has, doubtless, frequently been perverted and misdirected by priests and politicians, and has been made by them a terrible engine in subjugating, oppressing and enslaving their fellow-men. But they could not originate the principle itself. They did not constitute human nature; they had no part in mingling the elements which are combined in the soul of man. They took man as they found him, created by God a believing, hoping, aspiring, devotional, religious being. They discerned in him the instinct of religion, a susceptibility to religious impression, a continual inclination to and longing for what is "unseen,

spiritual and eternal." And upon this foundation, laid by God in man's nature, they raised their superstructure. To this innate principle in the soul they addressed themselves, sure of a response. This catholic instinct in man they bent whichever way they chose. Some, moved by craft and ambition, taught men to bow down to the work of their own hands, to look to the priest as a mediator between them and their offended divinities, to lavish their wealth upon altar and oracle, to immolate their children and even themselves, in order to appease a supernal wrath; and the debasing lesson was too easily learned. Others, with better views, gave a more worthy direction to the affections of the heart, cultivated the reason in conjunction with the religious instincts, and made knowledge the handmaid of piety, and humanity and virtue its end and aim. All these diverse forms of religion, the corrupt and erroneous as well as the pure and enlightened, have been grounded upon a common basis in human nature, and they all furnish an argument, which no infidelity can gainsay, for the substantial truth of that which manifests itself in some form or other wherever man exists.

And the Bible too — what an exhaustless store-house is it of materials, scenes, personages, events, from which the painter, the poet, the sculptor, the orator, have drawn, and still continue to draw, to mould and beautify their works! Why is it that genius deems it his greatest triumph, and the surest passport to a "perpetual memory," to be able successfully to illustrate the pages of this holy record? The answer is, that this is *the book of the soul.* It deals with those simple and fundamental verities which belong to the universal intellect. It treats of man's highest interests. It sets forth catholic truth. All that is great in idea, all that is glorious in vision, all that is beatific in hope, all that is tender and elevated in sentiment, all that is dreadful in retribution, all that is mysterious in sin; the diversified drama of human life, the struggles of those passions which inhabit the human breast, the might and authority of conscience; the great world-epic of God's Providence — creation, redemption, judgment; the history of what has been, the prospective unfolding of what shall be, — these all meet in the Bible. And the most that genius can do, as age follows age, is to copy its sublime and affecting lessons

on the canvas or in solid stone, to translate its venerable diction into the various tongues of the earth, to transfer its awful sentiments to arched ceilings and "long-drawn aisles" and overhanging domes, to fortify argument with its declarations, and inspire hope with its promises, and solace grief with its peace, and strengthen human virtue with its commandments, monitions and menaces.

With how much truth, beauty and power the artist has drawn out the Scripture scene, in the picture which has given occasion to the foregoing remarks, those who view it will not fail to perceive. It is no longer "the dead letter," but "the living spirit" of the passage, which is before us. Every one must be struck with the great variety of objects in the picture. There is variety, to meet faithfully the Scripture description of the scene. There are strong contrasts, to illustrate the opposite passions that sway the different groups. Calm fortitude, profound and tender veneration, terror and dismay, distress of mind, malevolent hate, bitter envy and jealousy, reckless debauchery, timid and abject superstition, these all are depicted in the faces and attitudes of the several figures. And yet, with all this variety, there is that unity of impression and effect which only true genius can produce. We are introduced into the banqueting-hall of the palace. The first excitement, produced by the apparition of the hand and of the mysterious writing on the wall, has subsided. The king has sent "to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers." They have confessed their inability to "read the writing and to make known to the king the interpretation thereof," and they are represented standing together in the foreground, on the right of the spectator, with all the bitterness of expression which their failure would be likely to impart to their countenances. "The queen, by reason of the words of the king and his lords, has come into the banquet-house," and has advised to send for Daniel. Supported by two handmaids she stands beside the king, who is seated on his throne, on the left of the foreground. The throne is ornamented with the carved head of an elephant, and behind it is the wreathed serpent, appropriate Oriental symbols. Above the king's head is seen the golden candlestick, and near him on the floor are some of the golden vessels of which his father had despoiled the

temple at Jerusalem. Thus arranged, the royal couple on the left, and the magicians on the right, their whole attention is given to the Prophet, who stands in the middle of the foreground, and with his left hand points to the writing on the wall, while he opens to Belshazzar the decree of Jehovah against him and his kingdom. A little removed from the foreground, between Daniel and the magicians, is a group in shadow, whose thoughtful and melancholy countenances and devout attitudes distinguish them as "children of the captivity," exiles from their country, answering to the description of those "children in whom was no blemish, but well-favored," whom Nebuchadnezzar had commanded the master of his household to select from the conquered Israelites, and train them "to stand before the king." One of them, a female, is kneeling in the posture of adoration, the softest of all lights shed upon a head and upon hands which correspond to the Scripture epithet, "well-favored." Another female is reaching forward to touch the garment of the Prophet, whom these captives reverence not merely as a man, but as the representative of their country and faith. A slave near them is pointing triumphantly to the precious vessels, the trophies of his master's power, and the mementos of their subdued and enslaved condition. The middle of the hall is occupied by the tables at which the guests are seated. With tipsy jollity and voluptuous abandonment these "lords and princes, with their wives and concubines," drink wine out of the vessels of the Lord's house, and sing hymns in praise of their false gods, forgetful of everything except present gratification, and strangers to the passions which are agitating the groups in the foreground. The incident of the hand-writing has deep meaning only for those whose consciences were prepared to receive the lesson it conveyed. A gallery, supported by pillars of a plain and massive style of architecture, is filled with spectators looking down upon the principal personages with various emotions. In the distance is elevated a golden image. On the steps leading to it figures are seen ascending and descending; others have reached the platform and are prostrating themselves before the senseless idol.

The majestic form of the Prophet, pointing to the mysterious characters on the wall, while with calmness, simpli-

city and directness he interprets their meaning, needing no violent passion to give energy to his expression, and no contortion of body, not even the clinching of a hand, to make his presence and figure commanding and impressive, — what could be more nobly conceived or more truthfully represented! Who, we are prompted to ask ourselves, as we look upon this sublime figure, who is, in fact, the master of that banqueting-hall? Is it the monarch, who has forgotten his vessels of gold and silver, his luxurious viands, his delicious draughts, and all the instruments of sensual pleasure, and who sits there, with despair depicted in his face, listening, as a doomed man, to the words of a captive? Is it the queen, whose beauty grows pale and sickly with what she hears announced, who leans with one hand upon a tottering throne, and with the other grasps the hand of her female slave? Is it either of those magicians and soothsayers, whose false wisdom has proved of no avail, whose arts have been foiled, who have been defeated and put to shame in their own field, and whose distorted countenances, exaggerated by hateful passions, by envy and rage and chagrin, can only stare, with impotent malice, at their rival? Is it the burnished idol elevated in the distance, and towards which the confounded ruler of Babylon turns no entreating and expecting eye? Is it not rather the man of God, who, with no outward trappings of power, with no effort at effect, but with a quiet air, and with the confidence and courage which truth inspires, pronounces the words which find a way to the royal conscience?

The whole picture presents an impressive illustration of a people who had been humbled in every possible way, whose independence had been destroyed, whose city had fallen into the hands of their enemies, who had themselves been carried away captive, and in an idolatrous court were obliged to look on and see the sacred vessels of their religion profaned by Heathen revellers; and who, under these circumstances of degradation, achieved a most remarkable moral triumph by the power of truth. They saw their Prophet respected and consulted, with fear and trembling, by their conscience-stricken oppressors. And now, eighteen centuries after the time when they finally ceased to be a nation, while the scattered remnants of them survive as wanderers in all lands, there arises, in these ends of the

earth, an artist, who, with a master's hand, reproduces one of the most interesting scenes of Jewish story; unites, on one canvas, the picture of their wrongs and of their triumph, and adds another to the many pledges which the world has already taken, that the acts and experience of that peculiar people shall continue in the memory of all periods of time, to verify the august Providence of God

W. P. L.

Art. VI. — FOURIERISM.*

The first of the works, the titles of which are given below, was published by Mr. Brisbane in 1840. At that time he was almost the only advocate in this country of the doctrine of Associated Industry according to Fourier. Now, it is reported that there are in the United States seventeen thousand persons ready to enter these Associations. Several communities have been already established, more or less in accordance with the Fourier idea. In all parts of our country the attention of the people has been called to the subject, and a good degree of interest has been awakened in respect to it. Conventions have been held and lectures delivered in Boston, New York, Pittsburg, and many other places. Mr. Greeley, the editor of one of the leading New York prints, having become a convert to the system, has devoted himself and used his paper to extend

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* 1. *Social Destiny of Man, or Association and Reorganization of Industry.* By Albert Brisbane. Philadelphia: 1840. 12mo. pp. 480.

2. *A Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association, &c.* By Albert Brisbane. New York: 1843. 8vo. pp. 80.

3. *The Tribune.* New York. Edited by Horace Greeley.

4. *The Phalanx.* New York. A weekly paper, devoted to the Doctrines of Association.

5. *The Present.* New York. Edited by William H. Channing.

6. *A Popular View of the Doctrines of Charles Fourier.* By Parke Godwin. New York: 1844. 8vo. pp. 120.

7. *A Lecture on Association, in its Connexion with Education, delivered before the New England Fourier Society, in Boston, February* 29, 1844. By John S. Dwight, of Brook Farm Association. Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 22.

8. *A Lecture on Association, in its Connexion with Religion, delivered before the New England Fourier Society, in Boston, March* 7, 1844. By Charles A. Dana, of Brook Farm Association. Boston: 1844. 8vo. pp. 19.

the knowledge of its principles. Besides the Tribune, the Phalanx and the Present have inculcated these doctrines. The latter has been suspended, but the Phalanx continues to be published, and is, we suppose, the principal organ of this movement. All this shows how strong a hold the doctrine of Association has taken on the public mind, and makes it our duty to give our readers some account of its principles, and some means of forming a judgment concerning its truth, utility and probable success.

Charles Fourier was born at Besançon, in Franche Compte, April 7, 1772. His father was a merchant in that place. In his youth he was remarkable for his fondness for study, and his taste for music and flowers. At eighteen he entered a commercial house in Lyons, and travelled, as its agent, in different states of Europe. Three years after, his father died, and left him an estate of sixteen thousand dollars, but before the end of the year it was lost in the siege and ransacking of Lyons. During these times of tumult Fourier was condemned to the guillotine, but escaped from the city, though afterward, to save his life, he was compelled to enlist in the army. In 1799 he entered a commercial house again, and while engaged in the pursuits of trade, had his attention directed to those social evils, to find the cure of which became the darling study of his future life. During this year he made what his followers regard as his great discovery, by detecting the fundamental laws of Association.

In 1808 Fourier published his first work, called the "Theory of the Four Movements." Little attention was paid to it, and becoming dissatisfied with it himself, he withdrew it from circulation, and spent seven years more in completing and correcting it. Just as he was about to print it again, Buonaparte's return from Elba threw France into commotion, and disturbed all his plans, and Fourier contented himself with quietly pursuing his studies and elaborating his views more and more, with scarcely a hope of finding any to take an interest in them, and without sympathy, encouragement or the chance of a public hearing.

But in 1816 an event occurred, which always will occur to any man who is deeply convinced of the truth of his own system. He found a disciple. A stray copy of his

first volume fell into the hands of M. Just Muiron, a gentleman of Besançon. He became deeply interested in it, but as the book was published without Fourier's name, it was two years before he succeeded in finding the author. When he learned Fourier's name and residence, he wrote to him, visited him, encouraged him to publish his complete work, and assisted him with money for that purpose. In 1822 the two volumes were published, under the title of 'A Treatise on Domestic and Agricultural Association.' But still little or no interest was taken in it, and the reviews could not be induced to notice it. Five or six years passed by, and no attention was paid to these new theories of life. In truth the time had not yet come for them, for before the advantages of the new social system could be understood, the evils and defects of the present organization of society must be felt. People will not trouble themselves about a remedy until they are aware of the reality and danger of the disease. Till then, the proposed cure will appear worse than the present evil. And thus because few had reflected upon the present needs of society, or understood the evils flowing out of the defective social system, the new theory, with its phalanxes, its attractive industry, its supposed destruction of the family and individual home, seemed a preposterous and impracticable dream, not worthy even of attention. Fourier, by the advice of his friends, published in 1829 an abridgment of his large work, but it was received like the other, with absolute silence and neglect.

But the necessary preparation for a constructive system like that of Fourier — which is a general conviction of the need of something new and better, the preparation which in this country has been afforded by the various reforms of the past few years, was effected in France by the labors of the St. Simonians. This sect, inspired by an ardent zeal, preached everywhere the necessity of a reform, and pointed out the evils of the present social arrangement. Its missionaries overran France, and excited, especially among the young men, great attention. But the insufficiency of St. Simonianism as a plan of reorganization was soon apparent, and this led its disciples to look around for something more satisfactory. Many believed that they found this in the writings of Fourier, and a weekly journal was now commenced to diffuse his views of Associated Industry. Thus

St. Simon prepared the way for Fourier. A joint stock company was soon formed for the purpose of realizing the new scheme, and one gentleman, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, bought an estate for one hundred thousand dollars for the express purpose of trying the experiment. Fourier, we are told, advised caution and recommended that they should not go on until a sufficient sum was subscribed to ensure success. But his more sanguine followers would not wait, and the consequence was the failure, for want of means, of the enterprise.

In 1835 Fourier published part of another work, entitled "False Industry." Before it was completed he died, in the year 1837, sixty-five years of age. He was a thoughtful and a benevolent man. His life appears to have been free from vice, and he devoted himself, with his whole energy, to the study of those plans and methods which he believed necessary for the happiness of humanity.

What then was his object? What did he propose to do? What are the evils in the present social system which need to be corrected, and which may make this new organization of society desirable?

Without overlooking or undervaluing the advantages of our present civilization, without joining in any extravagant condemnation of the present social system, no thoughtful person, we suppose, will deny that there are great social evils existing among us, for which society, as at present constituted, fails to provide any remedy. Modern civilization, in the old world, has resulted in evils and dangers of the most appalling nature. In England, for example, we have the monstrous paradox of a nation of enormous and growing wealth, a large and increasing portion of which is nevertheless ground under the hardest poverty. We have a nation, which during its continental wars was able to raise easily three or four hundred millions of dollars annually, and yet the great majority of whose population have scarcely food to eat or clothes to wear; a nation, whose labor-saving machinery does the work of many millions of men, and yet whose children, scarcely out of the cradle, have to work day and night, kept awake by the whip, and crippled in their tender limbs, by unnatural toil. It is a nation overflowing in wealth, doing the business of the world, yet containing tens of thousands who would gladly

labor all day long for food and clothes, and can get no work to do. It is a nation in fine, to use Mr. Carlyle's striking illustration, in which a horse is sure of comfortable support for the work he does, but a man who is willing to work may starve. Surely there is something wrong in this state of things.

The same evils exist, in a less degree indeed, in this country. Then look at other evils — consider the unjust division of profits, the low rates at which female labor is remunerated; consider the specific social evils of intemperance, war, slavery, licentiousness; consider the abuses of trade, of the professions, the evils in church and state. As we remark these things, society seems radically diseased. We are disposed to exclaim, with the Prophet, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint." The Prophet did not mean to be taken in the absolute strictness of the letter. Neither do we. There were good things, good customs, good men, good hopes, good efforts, in his day, as well as bad ones. So there are now. But in society we find disease, prevailing disease. There is not the color of good and perfect health anywhere. We are none of us quite well. There is a languor in our spirits, a drowsiness in our interests, a coldness in our love, a death in our life. Who has not felt it? Who does not feel it? That there is something wrong in our social condition is abundantly testified by the fact, that there is a selfish coldness and barrenness, a want of interest and joy, in the wisest, and easiest, and most virtuous circles of society. Who is happy? Who is perfectly *at home* in his position, and feels that he wants nothing more?

Granting, then, the existence of social evil, we ask next — what is its cause, and what its cure? To these questions there are different answers given by different classes of reformers. Some of these have been confounded with the answer of the Associationists, but ought, in fairness, to be distinguished from them.

Some reformers say, that *ignorance* is the cause, and that *knowledge* will be the cure for social evil. People mean to do right, wish to do right, but they do not understand what right is. They do not know how they ought to live. They wish for light, but cannot get it. They do not know the natural laws of the body and the soul, of

nature and man. Knowledge is the cure for social evil.

Now, undoubtedly, ignorance is one great cause of evil. Men as honorable, and true, and kind as any that live are continually doing wrong and mean things ignorantly. For want of liberal knowledge men are narrow, bigoted, persecuting, and tyrannical. This is all true, and a great deal more.

But it will not do to say that ignorance is the *only* cause of social evil, for men very often know what is right, but will not do it. It is not knowledge, but *will*, which is often wanted. In all languages and all lands it has passed into a proverb, that

> "We know what's right, and we approve it too,
> Condemn the wrong, and yet the wrong pursue."

How can any one say that ignorance is the only cause of evil, who sees the simple fact that no one acts up to the light he already has?

Another man says, *government* is the cause of all social evil. Only give us a good government, good laws, a good tariff, a good bank, let our party win the election, and all will go well enough. Government and laws influence society undoubtedly, but not so much as has been thought. The laws are the effect of the condition of society, more than its cause. Solon, the lawgiver, being asked long ago whether he had given the Athenians the best possible laws, replied, "*No; but as good as they can bear.*"

All the laws ever made, cannot make a base people noble, a cowardly people brave, an intemperate people temperate. Laws are good on moral subjects, chiefly to restrain the vicious from openly displaying their vice and putting needless temptations in the paths of the innocent. They are not armies, they can make no conquests from the territory of sin; they are rather like fortresses to retain what has already been conquered.

Another man says, the *institution of property* is the cause of all social vice. Have everything in common, and there would be no more covetousness, nor envy, nor greed.

This doctrine of community of property is called *Communism*, and was the doctrine of the St. Simonians. It is also the doctrine of Owen and his followers, in England and America. There are communities in this country

established on this basis, but this is not the Fourier doctrine. It ought to be distinctly understood that the Fourierites, in all their arrangements, acknowledge and maintain the right of individual property, and assert in the strongest language that "a community of property is the grave of individual liberty." Property they regard as the outward expression of personal and individual character. Property, they say, is accumulated labor, it is the labor of the past; and if I have a right to the fruits of my present labor, I have a right to the results of my past labors. Fourier regards the idea of property as an indestructible element of human nature, and his object is, not to expel it, but to consecrate it, limit it in its operation, and give it a beneficent direction.

Another class of reformers say, that the *Church* is the cause of all social evil. The Christian Church, they say, as now constituted, opposes all reform, and is the bulwark of all evil institutions. It sanctifies and protects the false usages of society, because it does not rebuke and expose them. It puts men's consciences to sleep, and so long as they will believe its creed, and go through with its ceremonies, and pay for its support, it allows them to indulge their selfishness and cruelty toward their fellow-men.

If such language as this has been held by some of the speakers at the Fourier meetings, here and in other places, it is not the language of Fourierism, nor of its authentic teachers. Fourier has no quarrel with the Church. His system gives a place for any and all the churches. In the "phalanx" churches of all denominations may find a place, just as they do in our present towns and cities. Fourierism, we repeat, attacks neither Christianity nor the Christian churches.

Let us look, however, for a moment, at this charge now brought against the Church. We would not defend it from any just accusation. The Church is not as good as it ought to be. We know that very well. It is too sectarian, too intolerant, too much bent on securing Orthodoxy, and too careless in securing what a modern writer calls Orthopraxy. It sets right thinking above right living. It tolerates slavery, as it formerly tolerated the slave-trade. The same General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church which gravely decided that a child's dance was a sin, refused to pro-

nounce that slavery was a sin. No wonder that zealous reformers, seeing these things, should declare the Church the bulwark of slavery, and fancy in their haste that it is necessary to overthrow the Church in order to overthrow the social evils which it sanctifies.

Nevertheless, even granting that the Church is the bulwark of slavery, it by no means follows that in order to overthrow slavery, we must overthrow the Church. When the allied armies approached Paris, they found the heights of Montmartre defended by the troops of Marmont. These heights were the bulwark of the city. It could not be taken so long as they were occupied by the French Marshal. But did they therefore try to overthrow them? Did they endeavor to batter down these hills? No, *they took possession of them.* Reformers who believe the Church to be the bulwark of social evils, should endeavor to take possession of it, and not try to batter it down. The Church can never be overthrown. Its roots run deep into the nature of man, its rocky summits rise in indestructible strength, supported by the everlasting needs of the human soul. It cannot be overthrown, but it may be occupied by the forces of liberty, and instead of being the bulwark of despotism, become the fortress and defence of freedom.

To accuse the Church of being the cause of social evil shows extreme prejudice. We have only to travel through the Western States to find towns containing often eighteen hundred inhabitants, where as yet there is neither any church nor any Christian institutions. Yet there is no lack of social evil there. These places are far from being the homes of good-will and honesty. In proportion to the absence of the church is the presence of gaming, drinking, lynch-law and bowie-knives. And let some poor Methodist preacher, a man of ardor and sincere devotion, come into these towns, carrying all his wardrobe in one saddle-bag, and all his library in the other; and after a few months, in which he has preached and prayed and visited, a change becomes apparent to all eyes. Vice retires and hides herself. Riot turns to order, tumult to quietness. Good men come forward and unite together, and the coming of the Church has been the cure, not the cause, of social evil.

The Church is not as good as she might be, but she is infinitely better than the world. We speak generally, of

course. There are exceptions, we know. But as a general thing, the Church is in advance of the world, far in advance. The Church is our mother; she is the mother of those who abuse and rail at her, because she does not at once see into the feasibility of their plans and the usefulness of their projects. But they themselves, these bold reformers, drew from her breast the earliest nourishment of their moral nature; in her arms they spelled their first rudiments of goodness; by her hands they have been supported in their first tottering attempts to walk alone in the ways of virtue. She is our mother. To us Unitarians indeed she has been rather a stern one. We are not her favorite children. She almost disowns us, and would shut us out of her family. But it were ingratitude to deny that we owe her much, very much; and let not those who fancy they have outgrown her creed and can improve on her practices, forget that she has helped them to arrive at this stature.

We now come to the Fourier explanation of the cause of social evil. It lies in the structure of society itself. False social arrangements; the individual household; a want of union, harmony, associated action; here lies the root of all our woe. No reform can ever thoroughly succeed while our present social organization continues. At a certain point your Temperance Reform, your Peace Societies, your Benevolent Societies are obliged to stop. They can go no further. But organize society on its true basis, and this one reform will include all others. You will not need a Temperance Society, nor a Peace Society. Association will put an end to slavery, intemperance, war, licentiousness and poverty, all together.

Man was made for society. He was made for social organization. This is a law of his nature, which cannot be violated with impunity. Humanity is a whole, of which each individual is an organic and necessary part, having a work to do, not for himself alone, but also for the whole. Man therefore has never existed without society, any more than without religion; yet society, like religion, may be more or less perfect. Now it is a remarkable fact, which Fourier noticed, and which lies at the basis of his theory, that *modern civilization has disorganized society.* In the feudal system, society was organized. From the serf

to the king, every man had his place, his relation, and his duty toward every other man. In Hindostan, society is organized by four castes. In Egypt, it was organized by seven. In Lacedæmon, an organization having reference entirely to a military education covered the whole state. All of these systems of organization were defective in their aims and methods, and injurious in their results. But modern society has no system of associated action at all. Every man chooses his own work, and does it in his own way, without helping his neighbor or being helped by him. Each family, in the same way, is isolated. The modern idea of freedom, carried out in religion into an extreme individualism which has broken up the Church, has in like manner, in social life, resulted in an individualism which has broken up social organization. The problem to be solved by the religious reformer is, to restore the Church, and yet retain individual liberty; the problem for the social reformer is, to restore a social organization, preserving in like manner the essential independence of the individual and the family. This problem, the Fourierites believe, is solved in their system. By protecting the right of personal property, and giving to each family its private home in the association, they believe they have preserved freedom, while they have gained union.

To show more plainly the evils flowing out of our present social arrangements, and the way in which Fourierism proposes to correct them, let us look at three points; Division of Labor, Competition in Trade, and the Individual Household.

Modern civilization prides itself upon its application of the principle of division of labor. The political economists show how immensely production is increased by it. Yet even these writers admit that it has its evils. A man who is occupied all his life in making the thirtieth part of a pin, is evidently not living as he ought. His mind and soul are narrowed and cramped. His work does not enlarge and ennoble him as it should. This is the most obvious evil of division of labor, and it applies to all pursuits. He who works only with his mind, he who spends his life in writing reviews or essays, is narrowed by that exclusive labor almost as much as the pin-maker by his. We all need a wide and varied experience, a diversified culture. We

need to educate, by work, our head, heart and hands. But as society now is, only one part or faculty of our nature is educated. That becomes preternaturally active, and is monstrously developed, like the left leg of a fencing-master, while our other powers wither away. As Mr. Emerson expresses it, in his Phi Beta Kappa oration, "the state of society is one in which the members have suffered amputation from the trunk, and strut about, so many walking monsters, — a good finger, a neck, a stomach, an elbow, but never a man. The priest becomes a form, the attorney a statute-book, the mechanic a machine, the sailor a rope of the ship."

As a consequence of this, also, work becomes uninteresting and odious. After we have become thoroughly familiar with one occupation, and have mastered all its details, we need variety. It is very tiresome to spend one's whole life in doing what can be thoroughly learned in a week's time. The world was made so wide and various, that we might acquire from it a diversified culture.* Change, and progress through change, are evidently the wants of our nature.

Fourier does not give up the principle of division of labor, nor renounce its advantages. It is carried out more thoroughly in association than in our present arrangements. This will be especially the case with female labor. One woman will be engaged in preparing pastry, another in cooking vegetables, another in cooking meat, one in washing fine linen, one in ironing sheets, another muslins. One man will devote himself to the cultivation of stone-fruit, and another to seed-fruit. But while labor is thus distributed into more minute details, the evils of such division are avoided by frequent change from one work to another. Each individual may, in the course of the day, be engaged in from five to thirty different occupations. This will give variety of culture, will break up the monotony of existence, enlarge continually the extent of attainment, and lighten toil. Such diversity of labor would be an advantage even to those whose work, as society is now constituted, is most favorable. How much it would help the physician, lawyer,

* "Dass wir uns in sie zerstreuen
Darum ist die Welt so gross."—Goethe.

merchant or clergyman, to work with his hands a part of the day! Mind and body would be both refreshed by it. How much more would be the gain of those who are obliged to spend their whole life in carrying bricks, in digging cellars, in washing clothes, to have this opportunity afforded for diversified and more intellectual employment.

But this diversity of occupation is but one of the modes by which industry is rendered attractive in this system. Another is the plan of *social* labor. No one works alone. All industry is distributed into groups, that is, small bodies of laborers devoted to some particular employment. At every change of employment, the laborer leaves one group and enters another. To this attraction of *society*, that of *emulation* is added. Each member of a group is anxious to excel the others in the quantity and quality of his work, and each group, in like manner, is engaged in emulation with other groups. The evils of emulation are avoided by the continual passage of an individual from one group to another; so that those who were just now his rivals are now his mates. If any of our readers remember the pleasure they enjoyed when they went out with other children to gather berries, and how hard they tried to get the fullest basket, they can imagine the attraction which may be given to industry by the principle of groups.

Let us now consider the second point — competition in trade. The evils arising from want of organization appear most evidently when we consider this other great principle of modern society, — freedom in the direction of industry. We have adopted the free trade principle in its fullest extent. We say, leave trade and industry to regulate themselves. We say to Government, — '*laissez faire*, let us alone. These things will regulate themselves. Labor will go where it is wanted. Let the career be laid open to talent. Competition will develope energy. Interest will be the safest guide in deciding the direction of industry.'

But is this so? It might be so, provided man was a being of reason and calm calculation only, with no passions to blind his judgment. We make laws to prevent truckmen from beating their horses unmercifully. Why so? It is decidedly the interest of a man not to abuse his horse; why not leave it to that? Because we know that anger and brutish obstinacy are often stronger than interest, and

something more is needed to protect the poor beast from ill treatment than the calculating reason of his master. So undoubtedly it is for the interest of the southern planter to treat his slaves well, and not overwork them. But this, we know, does not always protect them from his caprice, violence, and blind love of present gain. Just so as regards industry. Some departments of industry are crowded, and others comparatively neglected. We have for example, in Boston, two or three hundred lawyers. Does any one suppose that these are all needed to do the legal business of the place? A fifth or tenth part of the number would be sufficient. The profession is chosen by young men, not because more lawyers are needed, but because it is a profession attractive to an ambitious spirit. A lawyer is a gentleman, has influence in society, and has the best opportunity for political distinction. But as some two hundred of the number are not wanted, they must be unproductive and unemployed. Yet all must be supported, and live expensively, like gentlemen. Consequently, the little work which they do must be paid for in fees, disproportioned to its actual value, and many of them are compelled by their situation to promote lawsuits, and make themselves business, and it becomes the interest of the whole body to increase, instead of diminishing, the expense and the amount of litigation.

The same is true in regard to commercial pursuits. These are, also, attractive to the ambitious. They offer the hope of wealth, influence, ease, and a high social standing. Consequently, thousands of young men, who ought to remain in the country and cultivate the ground, enter the cities every year to engage in trade. There is an unnecessary multiplication of those who come between the producer and the consumer, adding nothing to the value of the commodity. It is not too much to say that a quarter of those now engaged in commerce in our cities could do the work which all do. Consequently, the consumer is obliged to support three-quarters of them, who are thus leading an unproductive, if not useless life. A large proportion of those in all kinds of commercial business are sitting idle behind their counters a great part of the day. Where they attend to fifty customers, they might as easily attend to one or two hundred. But as they

must be supported, it is necessary for them, somehow or other, to get as much profit out of their fifty customers as they would otherwise do out of more. Hence all the tricks of trade, the thousand deceptions practised upon the ignorance of the purchaser, the arts of puffing, the various devices to attract buyers, which, when not absolutely dishonest, are at least unworthy and degrading.

Is it in the order of nature that hundreds of young men, in the prime of life and strength, should stand behind the counters doing woman's work? Poor women, who depend on their labor, are obliged to toil half the night at the needle for a miserable compensation, because the situations which they ought to fill, in all kinds of retail business, are taken from them by men who should be ploughing the fields.

On the "let alone" principle, capital will always be able to take advantage of labor, and for this simple reason, that capital *can wait*, labor cannot. At the great fire in New York, forty or fifty dollars were paid for the use of a dray. Capital could not wait then, and therefore it was at the mercy of labor. This was the exception which proves the rule. The rule is, that labor cannot wait, and is therefore at the mercy of capital. When a man must have work to-day, or go without bread for himself and family, he is not in a position to make a fair bargain.

Capital is able also to look about, and take advantage of all the circumstances which will enable it to reduce the wages of labor. The large clothes-dealers in the cities have their agents in the country, who get work done at the lowest prices. A gentleman told us the other day, that he saw the daughter of a respectable farmer making shirts for eleven cents apiece for one of these dealers. He asked her whether she thought that a sufficient price. "No," said she, "if I were obliged to support myself, I could not do it by this work; but I merely employ time which otherwise I should not use." It had not occurred to her, that she was thus lowering the price paid to those who did depend on their labor for subsistence. But this is only one out of a multitude of examples, to show that the principle of competition does not regulate itself as it ought; that the "let alone" principle does not produce results which are in accordance with truth and justice. The principle of free

competition is a good one for the strong, the sagacious, for those who have talent, means, energy; but it gives no chance to the weak, the poor, the friendless. It developes great energy, and produces great results; but it makes one part of society the tools and instruments by which another part may carve out their way to fortune.

Instead of competition, Fourier would substitute co-operation. His system gives to capital, to talent, and to energy, a fair compensation, but it guarantees a just recompense to industry. It puts an end at once to unproductive labor. There will be no more merchants, lawyers, or physicians in an association than are really needed. They will not be tempted to use any of the arts of competition, for they will be recompensed in proportion to the actual value of the work which they do. An immense economy will result from this single source. Moreover, there will be no danger in an association of any one department of labor being crowded, while another is neglected. All industry will be made attractive, none will be considered menial, for each member of a community will take part in such a variety of labor that the usual distinctions arising from occupation cannot find place. In selecting their work, individuals will follow natural, instead of artificial and false motives. Each will select the varieties of occupation which suit his own natural tastes, capacities and tendencies, instead of consulting his ambition, his vanity, his love of ease, his love of accumulation. And as these tastes are confessedly various, every variety of occupation will be chosen.

Let us now look at the third point — the individual household. The most obvious disadvantage of this is its wastefulness. Three hundred families, as society is now arranged, require three hundred separate houses, kitchens, fires, cooking utensils, and women to cook. If they are farming families, they require also three hundred small farms, three hundred barns and teams, and innumerable walls and fences.

Fourierism will bring all these families together into one household, and one building, conveniently arranged. Instead of three hundred kitchens and fires, it will have four or five large kitchens by which the cooking can be done, and the whole edifice warmed. Instead of three hundred

fire-places and cooking-stoves, it will have extensive kitchen-ranges, large boilers, and the best machinery for facilitating culinary operations. Instead of three hundred cooks, it will have a few experienced ones, who will relieve each other by a change of work; instead of three hundred poor teams, standing idle half the time, it will have the requisite number, and of the best quality; instead of the walls and fences now needed, it will have a few extensive hedges; instead of making its purchases at retail, paying to traders half the profits of its labor, it will make them at wholesale, and in the most economical manner.

These are but a part of the economies of association. Other advantages are, that it will extend to all its members the comforts and luxuries which now are necessarily confined to the wealthy; that it will abridge the amount of drudgery, that it will give to all the advantage of every new discovery in art, architecture and social comfort, that it will combine the advantages of city and rural life, that it will tend to cultivate the mass of men by bringing them into natural and pleasant relations with the educated and refined. Meantime, Fourier does not propose to infringe the privacy of home, or the sacredness of the family. In the phalanx each one can be as private as he will, he can have his rooms and suites of rooms for himself and family as he does now.

These examples illustrate, to some extent, the leading ideas of this system. We have no space here to enter at all into its details. We refer our readers to the works mentioned at the beginning of this article, especially that by Mr. Godwin, which is the most clear and comprehensive, and the pamphlet of Mr. Brisbane, which contains the most numerous details. We can merely add now a few criticisms.

To pronounce any decided opinion upon the truth or falsehood of the system, or its practicability, is not our intention. The tree will be known by its fruits. It is the work of earnest men, who are endeavoring to correct acknowledged evils. They deserve to be treated with respect. Those who would oppose these plans by ridicule and sneers, are, as it seems to us, not acting a wise part. If this counsel or work be of men, it will come to nought. These are builders, not destroyers; their work is to con-

struct, not to pull down; their principles, if false, will therefore prove themselves so immediately, by not working well in practice. These men do not come to oppose or destroy any of our institutions; they merely wish to establish better ones, which they expect will swallow up quietly and peacefully whatever is evil. They are, we repeat it, not destructive, but constructive reformers. If there have been those at their conventions and other meetings who have attacked church and state, this is not the spirit of Fourier or his leading interpreters. It was natural that radicals, who have been in the habit of denouncing and attacking society, should bring the old spirit of destruction with them when they became Associationists, and continue for a time to use their old language. But the spirit of Fourierism is essentially a reconciling, pacific, and productive one.

For ourselves, seeing and feeling the manifold evils of society, we are ready to say "God speed" to every earnest and conscientious attempt to remove them. We are by no means convinced that the system of Fourier is able to correct these evils. But let those who are so convinced, go forward and try their plans. Let us prove *all things*, and hold fast what commends itself as good.

There is, however, one danger to which Fourierites are exposed, and one tendency which we have observed in their discussions, which we feel bound to warn them of, before closing this article. The danger is of expecting from a new outward arrangement, what no such arrangement can ever accomplish; of looking to outward forms for a cure of the evils which have their root in the soul and heart. The tendency is to throw all the blame of social evil on society, and to underrate individual responsibility and ability. We do not think that these tendencies are necessary to the system, nor do we believe them universal with its advocates, but we know that they are common among them.

"Society itself," say many Associationists, "is the cause of the evils which exist in it. Society is the culprit, individuals are the victims. Social usages are all wrong, and individuals are compelled, by the heaviest penalties, by loss of bread, and loss of character, to do as others do."

That the customs of society are very peremptory, very

despotic, and that these are often very bad customs, who can doubt? How hard, for instance, for a young man at the South to refuse to fight a duel, if he be challenged; and how hard here at the North for a lawyer or a trader to do business differently from the usual way, even though it seem unjust to him. How hard, in private life, to live more simply than others are living; to do your own work, clean your own boots, sweep your own sidewalk, dine on bread and milk. Differ from your neighbors in any of these particulars, and what a storm of censure and wonder arises. 'What a singular person! what affectation; how visionary! why don't he do as other people do?' This is the lightest penalty,—to have sharp and venomous tongues employed about you everywhere. But if you are any way dependent on the public favor; if you are a teacher, and deem it your duty to admit a colored child into your school; or a preacher, and walk with a colored man through the streets; or a physician, and commit any of the like enormities; or an editor, and admit any opinion or sentiment foreign to the tastes of your readers; how quickly do scholars, patients, parishioners, subscribers, take their leave, and with them the bread you were putting into your children's mouths. Society, we admit, is somewhat tyrannical.

And yet, after all, society is only strong because we are weak. She is terrible, because we are cowards. Let a man take the course which he believes *right*, be it ever so unusual and unpopular, and what harm can the uproar of society do him? It is "the crackling of thorns under a pot." It has no strength, no force—all this clamor. Live quietly on a few years, and if you *are* right, society will soon be on your side. One man who sees a truth, who does a right action, is stronger than all men together who do not see it, or refuse to do it. The strength of a world cannot drive him from his position if he be brave and faithful. The least grain of truth will force its way in a very short time and make itself known and reverenced. When Coleridge first wrote, his writings were triumphantly pronounced to be perfectly unintelligible. Wordsworth's poems were welcomed by the critics with the declaration, "This will never do." Carlyle's writings at first scarcely found in all England five approving readers. But there

was gold, fine gold, in all these men, and what a different verdict has the world already pronounced. They were not afraid to go on their own way, a strange and new path, and already multitudes are following them. It is just so in morals. A few years since respectable and good people would sometimes go out of the church when Dr. Follen got up to preach, because he was an abolitionist, and now Dr. Follen is reverenced wherever his name is spoken.

The punishment of starvation seems rather more difficult to bear than that of unpopularity. But we speak metaphorically when we talk of starving. We can live on very little; not as other people live, but comfortably, with good health and better spirits. In this country it is not easy for a man with two hands to starve. To dine on apples, or meal, or potatoes, seems a dreadful thing to us, to be sure; but with the seasoning of a good conscience, one might, we think, find them palatable. And then, besides, such an one has "meat to eat" that most of us "know not of." Those of us who have always been propped up on cushions, who have had every thing to our hand, comforts and luxuries always, know nothing of the strength, freedom and love, which he acquires who has been compelled to live without any of these, for conscience' sake, and finds he *can* live so and yet be happy. We reverence, we almost envy such a man's experience. Nothing can crush him hereafter, nothing affright. He knows the worst that men can do him, and it is little. He is perfectly independent therefore. He can say to his parishioners, patients, customers, subscribers, clients, when they are offended with his honesty and leave him, — "go in peace." He is not angry with them, for they have not hurt him. It seems to us that this is even better than the comforts of a Community.

Then as to that other assertion which we hear so often, "that *society* is to blame for all these social evils; that society is responsible, and individuals are victims." We do not exactly understand how society can be responsible and individuals not so. It has been well said, "wherever there is a sin, there must be a sinner." What is society but an assemblage of individuals? How can the individuals be all right, taken separately, and yet taken collectively be all wrong? How can every single grain of sand in a heap be white, and yet the whole heap be black? What

are these customs of society, which tyrannize over us, but the aggregate of the habits of each one of us? If every individual would give up his bad habits, society would very soon give up its bad customs. We confess, we do not like this way of throwing off the responsibility from ourselves upon society; taking great credit for our denunciation of social abuses, and taking no blame for practising them ourselves. Such a proceeding deadens the conscience. No one feels that he is to blame for these sins of society; on the contrary, he feels very virtuous for having talked against them and denounced them. This is not a promising state of things.

Reformers, who speak in this general way of the sins of the world and the immoralities of society, would do well to take a lesson from that Church of Christ which they consider so impotent and so behind the age. She has always addressed herself to the conscience, not of society — for society has no conscience — but of individuals. She has said, "the *soul* that sinneth, *it* shall die." She has placed the solitary soul before the bar of God; she has taken it away from society and caused it to feel that it was not to compare itself with others, nor excuse itself by their example and custom, but to compare itself with God's standard, and judge itself by his holy law.

And this brings us to the consideration of what we believe to be the deepest cause of all social evil. It is SIN — individual sin. The profound cause of all outward misery and crime is inward; it is our selfishness, our want of love, our want of faith in God, our unwillingness to obey him. As long as we are selfish in our soul, so long will the outward world be full of misery. No external arrangements, no improvement of social mechanism, no constitutions, or laws, can produce outward peace and happiness, while the black root of evil is in the heart. We have in this world one great work to do; it is, to struggle against and conquer this evil principle within us, and nail it to the cross of Christ. Until we have done this, we carry a devil within us, and we shall have a hell around us. When we have done it, God dwells within us, and heaven blooms around us. If we wish then to reform society, we must first of all reform ourselves. To see a man undertaking to reform the world, who is full of vanity,

who is a sophist, who uses low arts, who is self-willed, malignant, bitter; all this excites the derision of the world, and the sorrow of good men. But when one comes forward as a reformer, whose youth has been passed in purity and earnest studies; who is meek yet brave, a hero yet a saint, joining lofty hopes with practical wisdom; then all are touched, the strongest prejudices are softened, the most vulgar minds are moved to reverence, it is an angel who comes down to trouble the dark pool of social existence, and we feel that from such troubling as this must come healing and peace.

This is the principal cause of social evil — *sin*. We do not say that men are naturally or totally depraved, but we do say that in every soul there is moral evil to be struggled against and conquered, with agony and tears; and in most souls it is not conquered; and that, therefore, because *men* are false, society becomes false. We do not say that this is the only cause of social evil. Bad governments, false views of wealth, a wrong organization of society, sectarian churches, may increase this evil; but the main root is in the perverted aims and depraved desires of the soul of man. We deceive ourselves, therefore, in thinking our misery comes mainly from without, from social arrangements; it comes from within, from our want of faith, hope and love. We deceive ourselves, in thinking that we should become more free and happy in some different situation, in some different relations. Can you get away from yourself by joining an association?* Be brave, upright, gentle, holy, loving, pure, *where you are*. The apostle John did not have to join a Community in order to be full of "the love-spirit;" nor did Jesus Christ copy the associations of the Essenes, nor teach his disciples to imitate their hermit virtue.

The main cause of social evil we hold to be sin; secondary causes are to be found in ignorance, sectarianism, and inartificial social organization. The great cure must be looked for in individual virtue; in single souls filled with heroic courage, with calm determination to live as God's children ought. A deeper, more earnest, more simple, more practical religion, a Christianity of love, can alone cure the evils with which selfishness has poisoned the springs of our life.

* Patriæ quis exsul
Se quoque fugit?

The cure for social evils is to be found, we believe, first, in individual courage and holiness, and secondly, in an improvement of social organizations and arrangements. But only mistakes and an increase of evil can come from beginning at the wrong end. If we suppose that by bringing together into an association a body of selfish, cowardly and false individuals, we can produce a generous, brave and true society, we wofully err. "I have learned," says Paul, "in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." It is a great thing to learn. Any spot where a free foot is planted is a land of freedom. Any place where a brave man stands, is a castle and a fortress, impregnable to the assaults of evil. Any society where a loving soul abides becomes magnetised with his love and is the home of affection. Wherever the pure in heart dwells, he sees God; and wherever faith, hope and love are to be found, there is heaven. J. F. C.

ART. VII.—THE HEART'S YOUTH.

Addressed to a lady who complained that her heart had lost its youth.

TIME withers up the fairest face,
  Throws tower and palace down,
Steals from the noblest form its grace,
  And rusts out sword and crown;
The tree is for its mouldering sway,
  The stone is for its tooth;—
But oh, take back that word, nor say
  That hearts can lose their youth.

The heart is of no earthly mould,
  Is neither clay nor rock;
Nor snaps like steel, nor dulls like gold,
  Nor yields to wear or shock.
Its strength is in its loving will,
  Its life is in its truth;
Then, lady, do not tell me still,
  Your heart has lost its youth. N. L. F.

THE HEART'S RESOLVE.

THERE's scarce an hour of any day
I could not drop to sleep;
There's scarce an hour, I almost say,
I would not gladly weep.

The laboring cares that strain the mind
Fall heavy on the eyes;
And griefs, that never speak, would find
Relief in more than sighs.

This is not sluggishness that droops;
These are not passion's tears; —
The spirit strives as well as stoops,
And blesses while it fears.

No, here's the weary weight, — that all
So empty seems to be;
And these pent drops, if shed, would fall
For others, — not for me.

Rouse, rouse, my mind, and every power
To life's great service bring;
Cheer, cheer, my heart, and every hour
Learn not to pine, but sing.

Then o'er this emptiness of earth
Shall God's own fulness stream,
And bathe in light of holiest birth
The sorrow and the dream.

Let slumber be but gathering strength,
And tears but nature's debt;
So, trouble shall be peace at length,
With dews of glory wet.

N. L. F.

ART. VIII.—DOCTRINAL PREACHING.*

WE have been brought within a few years to a new conviction in regard to the necessity and utility of doctrinal discourses, both in the pulpit and from the press. During the first twenty years of our prominent existence as a denomination, there was necessarily much of doctrinal and controversial writing. It was able; it was thorough; it seemed to dispose of many of the "vexed questions." We regarded it with satisfaction, perhaps with too great self-complacency. We felt that all was done for the time, that could be done by strong and fair reasoning. We did not suppose that all were convinced of the soundness of our arguments, nor did we look for any visible or astounding changes. We knew that many minds were utterly unable, and must always be unable, to come to our point of vision. We knew that some natures, whether originally or from education and habit, crave and must have a different doctrine from ours and different means and measures in religion. And we were perfectly content that they should have what they seemed naturally to demand, and honestly, we trust acceptably, to use. We wished to address to them no more argument, for they could not receive it. And our own people did not need it. They did not desire it. They were convinced, they were sated. Most of them were weary of the very name and sound of controversy. In the pulpit they could not endure it, and never have. It is a remarkable fact, that Unitarian ministers generally have never carried controversy into the services of the Sabbath, and very little of direct doctrinal preaching. They have not desired to do it, though there is no preaching that requires so little preparation, or is so exciting to some minds. But our congregations generally have not wished to be excited, certainly not by theological warfare. Allow it much or little merit in itself, there is the fact, that Unitarians prefer plain practical preaching, and that in all the agitations of party, through the whole history of our denomination as such, practical preaching

* *Lectures on Christian Doctrine.* By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Boston: 1844. James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 227.

has been almost the only preaching heard in our churches, in the regular services of the Lord's day.

We call this a remarkable fact, and we dwell upon it a moment, as important to the view we wish to take of doctrinal writings. It is remarkable, that a sect "everywhere spoken against" should manifest and maintain so decided a preference of practical preaching, as to compel their clergy to use special occasions in vestry lectures for doctrinal discussions. It is remarkable, that Unitarianism has obtained the footing it has, and made such progress, without being often named on the Sabbath, seldom directly and systematically inculcated from the pulpit, and scarcely ever — if indeed we may not say, never — made the subject of Sunday school instruction. When we consider this, in connexion with the well-known fact, that believers of the opposite doctrines introduce them so often and urge them so positively, in church and school and home, we feel authorized to infer something in favor of our own doctrines, while we see cause for greater diligence in disseminating the truth. The truth as we hold it, in our distinctive doctrines, has been very imperfectly imparted to the young. Excluded as doctrine has been from our pulpits and schools, confined to special services which the young seldom attend, or to books and tracts which they never read, the new generation is constantly asking, 'What is Unitarianism? Do you believe this, do you reject that, as many affirm?' Nor are they always answered. For some parents and teachers are so singularly afraid of doctrines, or of the minister's sectarianism, that they refuse to give the truth to their own children and pupils when they ask for it. We have heard grave discussions in Sunday school meetings, as to the duty or propriety of answering questions which might lead to a knowledge of controverted points. That is, our special views of God, Christ, man, sin, repentance and retribution, are either so very important, or so very unimportant, that we will let these young and inquiring minds find them for themselves, or never find them at all!

What is the consequence of this policy? Just what we ought to expect. Children grow up to be young men and young women, they hear other preachers who do not withhold doctrine, questions are put to them which they cannot answer, views are pressed as essential which they have never

held, but which *sound* Scriptural and solemn, and they go away from us. If they condescend to talk with their own ministers before they go, they surprise them by asking of matters which those ministers thought they knew already, but which they now remember have been seldom preached or taught. Nor is the evil confined to those who leave. Many who remain are of unsettled, indefinite faith, easily perplexed and confounded by a skilful opponent, less interested in the church than those who have clear convictions of momentous truth, and in times of religious anxiety made to despond, or doubt, or wander.

It is from seeing and hearing such tendencies, together with more reflection on the principles involved and the natural influences, that we have come to feel differently, as we at first intimated, in regard to the necessity of doctrinal discussion. There was a time when we sympathised strongly with the general weariness, the longing to rest from all contention and be silent as to all differences. And when occasionally a doctrinal discourse was preached, or a new volume of doctrinal lectures appeared, as the excellent one from our brother at Baltimore a few years ago, while we acknowledged its ability, we felt as if it were not needed, and perhaps took the place of something more practical and useful. We advert to this feeling here, because we believe it to have been the prevalent feeling then, and to be still cherished by many. We believe it to be unjust. We believe, and have some reason to know, that the volume to which we just referred, and the controversial volume which has since followed from Dr. Dewey, have been eminently useful. The question so often asked both by our own and other people — 'Where can we find in a brief space a statement and defence of Unitarian views' — can now be answered. We have seen, also, no little good resulting from the several series of doctrinal discourses which have been given within two or three years in various places, chiefly on Sunday evenings, or on some evening in the week. If conducted in a proper spirit, some good must always result from such a course. It leaves the regular services of the Sabbath free from all that can disturb any worshipper, while it gives an opportunity to those who wish it, especially of other societies, by whom the opportunity is more freely used than formerly, to learn what we do

believe and weigh fairly our arguments. It is useless to say, that our tracts answer this purpose. There are many who never read anything, many who never see the tracts, and who will remain in utter ignorance of our faith, unless they hear it stated and explained again and again by the living preacher.

These remarks may seem trite and needless. In our judgment they are called for by the importance of the subject itself, by the disposition lately evinced to return to doctrinal preaching and printing, and by the fears occasionally expressed, that this change, if such it be, is a bad one, and the importance of doctrine itself altogether overrated. In these fears we should sympathise, but for two reasons; one, that doctrine is placed by our system in its true relation to duty and piety, so that the danger of exaggeration is very small, generally far less than the opposite danger; the other, that the temper in which doctrine is discussed and controversy conducted by our writers and preachers, and indeed by most at the present day, is such as removes the greatest objection, and prevents the worst evils heretofore experienced. We would not that doctrinal preaching should ever occupy a large place, in proportion to other preaching; we have no fear that it ever will in our denomination. We would not that the importance of doctrine should ever be set above that of the temper, the fixed character, or the daily life; we have never seen reason to fear this, in any of the preaching we have heard, or the books we have read, bearing our name. We say it not in boasting. We say it in gratitude, humility, and a deep sense of accountableness from this very circumstance. If we do hold doctrine in this just estimate, if we bring it to help precept and practice instead of superseding them, and if we can deal with our own and others' doctrine in a Christian temper, finding nothing that requires, but everything that forbids us to impugn motives or condemn any honest believers, we are responsible for the *use* of this power and position. There is nothing in it to feed pride; there is much to create obligation. We are bound to make known those opinions, which we believe to be true and to constitute Christianity. Call them doctrines or truths, preach them as faith or works, give to them greater or less prominence, — whatever those views are which seem to

you to distinguish the Gospel of Christ, to define Christian character and duty, make them known. In some way make them known. Give them utterance and influence. Show their soundness, their practical relations, their spiritual worth. Let it be seen, that all religious truth is vitally connected with all duty, and may help all the great interests of common life, of tempted and suffering and sinning man.

This is a chief reason, why we prize our own doctrine, and would proclaim it aloud and faithfully. It is that its views of God and man, of human nature and destiny, of mutual dependence, equal rights, solemn but just accountableness, liberty guarded by law, charity and love unbounded but never indiscriminate or indifferent, are the doctrines nearest to those which Christ preached, and at the same time best calculated to commend religion to the consciences, and cause it to act upon the lives of men. And these are the very doctrines which are most affected, nay, identified, with just views of God's being and government, of Christ's relation to God and his mediation, of man's need of regeneration, his whole danger and whole duty.

With these feelings we give a cordial welcome to the new volume on Christian Doctrine, by Mr. Peabody. It was referred to in our last number, and a review of it promised. That review is less needed now, as regards the book itself, since it has passed already to a second edition, and is widely known. We need not give extracts. We need hardly give an opinion, much less go into an examination of the merits of the book, for the community has accepted it, and with more than usual unanimity. It is distinguished by clearness, directness, fairness, and decision. There is no compromising, no evasion, and no assumption. It is affirmative, not negative. It is discussion rather than controversy. The fact of difference is not kept out of sight, nor its importance denied. There is no poor attempt to show that all Christians think alike, that Trinitarians are Unitarians, and Unitarians hold something that may be called the Trinity. Things are called here by their right names. It is shown that there is one God, the Father, and one Mediator between God and men; and that any doctrine which opposes this, or confounds it, or impairs it, is without support in Scripture and of hurtful influence. And

so of the other great doctrines. There are eight Lectures, of which two are given to our views of "Jesus Christ," two to the "Atonement," and the other subjects are treated each in one lecture, viz. the "Divine Nature," the "Holy Spirit," "Human Nature," and "Regeneration." These are large subjects, and Mr. Peabody approaches them directly, and examines them thoroughly. By excluding all extraneous matter, indulging in no speculation, denunciation, or vague moralizing, he is able to comprise a great deal within this single moderate volume. We do not know where a compendium of our doctrines, so nearly complete, can be found in so small a space. We say nearly complete, for we cannot say wholly. We felt, in reading the volume, that some important questions were hastily dismissed, and some important subjects wholly omitted, particularly Retribution. But it is to be considered, that these Lectures were written without any view to publication, and their author may not have intended to give an entire system.

It is no slight recommendation of this book, that every one can place entire confidence in the accuracy of its statements. Mr. Peabody is known to be a thorough biblical scholar, in the best sense of the term. No one could bring to such a work sounder principles of interpretation, or a better temper. There is not one indication of the dogmatist or the combatant. We remember no polemic writer who resists more manfully the temptation to place an opponent in a ridiculous light; a temptation rendered particularly strong by the peculiarities of the Calvinistic scheme. Here is no ridicule, no lightness; but "words of truth and soberness." Ingenuity or originality is not the aim. The arguments are not new, but they are fresh and strong, always pertinent and always fair. The author may be regarded as a just representative of Unitarians generally, in matters of faith. He does not speak for all, nor hold any accountable for his views or his reasoning. Yet few, we apprehend, would dissent from his statements; and there is no room for the remark, which we sometimes hear about our best writers and preachers — 'O, these are good, but they are very different from the mass; these are not Unitarians.' That Mr. Peabody is not a Unitarian, we presume no one will venture to affirm. If he differs at all from

any large part of his brethren, it is on the subject of Christ's particular place in creation. On this point he goes beyond many, and avows his decided belief in the pre-existence of Christ. The reasons he gives for this, and the arguments with which he defends it, will not satisfy every one, but they are worthy of very serious consideration. In our opinion, they are not easily set aside. They do not amount to demonstration. They do not satisfy us of the absolute and unquestionable fact of Christ's pre-existence. But they do make it impossible for us to *deny* his pre-existence, and compel us to leave it, where the Scriptures leave it, — unrevealed, undetermined. We have never been wholly satisfied with the arguments and expositions of the Humanitarian. There are difficulties on both sides, and we are content to consider the whole question as among "the secret things which belong unto the Lord our God." It does not affect the authority of Christ, it does not affect his Divine mission or Divine character. We believe that God was with him and in him; we receive all he said as the word of God; we reverence the Son, without needing or asking to know when he began to exist, or how he came into the world. It is enough to know, that he was "sent," "ordained," "sanctified," and "sealed," by the Father. We would "honor the Son, even as we honor the Father."

The great difficulty in all questions of doctrine, and we incline to say, in all other questions at the present day, is a want of *definiteness*, both in conception and language. In the whole controversy on the Divine unity and the nature of Christ, let the question be stated definitely and definitely studied, there can hardly be two answers. Is Christ in all respects precisely the same as God the Father? If so, then he is God the Father. But no one pretends that. Then he is not God the Father; then he is not the same; then he is not equal. Or put it in another definite shape. Is Christ equal with God? Then are they not one, but two, and distinct. The mind is not capable of thinking of equality, or any kind of comparison, without having before it more than one object, more than one being. How can there be equality or comparison with only one? Allow two, make them perfectly equal, you have two distinct Supreme Beings. This again is an impossibility, according to all power of conception, or power of language. The

truth is, no man can, no man probably ever did, think of God and Christ, without having two separate ideas, two entirely distinct images, before the mind; and this is enough to settle the question. More than this; we doubt if any one ever thought of God and Christ, without supposing there was some difference between them. We never put the question to a Trinitarian, who did not answer it affirmatively. We remember, in the early stage of this controversy among us, Dr. Sprague, now of Albany, published a sermon on the subject, in which he expressly said, that God and Christ are not supposed to be equal, or are not equal, "in *all* respects;" making the word "all" emphatic, — as if that relieved the matter — as if there can be equality without equality.

But we did not intend to go into the argument. It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the doctrines. For that discussion we refer to the book before us. It is one of its excellencies, that it brings questions to a point. And all we propose further is, to show, in our own way, that they may be brought to a point, and that it is the want of this, the want of definiteness, that prevents their being clearly understood, and causes much, if not most of the variance and trouble in regard to them. There is a strange vagueness of thought and expression on all these subjects of dispute. Even the intellectual, and those who profess to be most refined and precise, use words either in a new sense, different from any before known and elsewhere admitted, or in a sense of which no one can say whether it be new or old, different or the same — that is, in no sense at all. We have seen this to our satisfaction in what is called the "new philosophy." It would seem as if Spiritualists, or those who aim to be such and suppose themselves such, find common language, in its common signification, wholly insufficient for their ideas, and find it unnecessary also to give their ideas any very definite character or intelligible utterance. We have sometimes amused ourselves with putting absurd questions, or giving unmeaning propositions to such minds, and seeing how readily they assent; saying, 'Well, that sounds strange, but there is some truth in it; and its strangeness is no objection; I like it, I believe it.' We were tempted to say to them, 'You believe no such thing. As well might you believe that white is black.'

The very statement is a designed contradiction. And the only way in which such words are ever to be seriously used or accepted, is by adopting the short creed of the old father — 'Credo, quia impossibile est.'

Is there not a great deal of this easy faith and vague thought, and yet more vague expression, in the old theology, as well as the new philosophy? The Trinitarian and Calvinistic systems abound in it. Open any of their pages, and you see it. Take any leading doctrine, and it will illustrate what we mean. We have spoken of the being of God. Let us look at his moral character, in this connexion and for this purpose only.

God is just. All men ascribe to him perfect justice. And yet, most Christians say that his perfect justice is the very attribute which requires him to punish multitudes for a nature which he gave them, and which he has not changed, and no one else can change. Moreover, this is the attribute which forbids him to pardon and receive the sinner on repentance alone. Be his repentance ever so sincere, and his reformation entire, God's justice must inflict the heaviest penalty, if it act as justice only. We speak not here of the unreasonableness or hardness of this doctrine, nor even of its inconsistency with the solemn promise of God to pardon those who return to him. We speak only of the meaning of language. What is justice? Answer that question and you answer the whole. You cannot form any distinct idea of justice, you cannot use the word with a definite, intelligible meaning, that will permit you to believe that God will punish man for a nature which he himself gave him, or deal with the penitent sinner and the returning prodigal, as with the impenitent, the hardened, and the dead in sin. No one does believe this. No Christians pretend to believe it. But why not? Not because of God's justice; this, they say, would require them to believe it, and would bind God so to act. Let them define their ideas, let them use the mind which God has made, and allow words to mean in religion what they mean everywhere else, and they must either deny God's justice, or admit a different conclusion.

These thoughts bring before us the doctrine of Atonement, to which they properly belong. And we take that doctrine in itself for another brief illustration of the vague-

ness of common words and conceptions in religion. Or, rather, we would simply ask, if this whole doctrine may not be brought to a single point, and made so definite in language and idea, as to answer most of the questions usually raised. Atonement is reconciliation. God has spoken, Christ lived and died, to reconcile the erring and sinning child to the gracious Father; to make them "at-one." How can it be done? They are now separated. Which is to be brought to the other? In which is the needful *change* to be effected? Can any man ask himself that question, and answer it in more than one way? Put it in another form, virtually the same. Was the death of Christ designed to operate on God, or on man? Did God need atonement for himself, or did the sinner need it? There is but one answer. Language requires that answer. Reason requires it. Religion, reverence, penitence, require it. And the Apostle gave it ages ago: "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God."

The usual words and ideas found in connexion with the doctrine of human nature, or Depravity, show the same thing. When men talk of "original sin" and "total depravity," they use words in the loosest manner, and probably connect with them no definite meaning, or else a meaning which the words themselves contradict. Thus the New Haven modern school make original sin to mean a natural bias to evil, or the certainty that every man will sin. This we presume is now the prevalent doctrine, and we find many intimations of it in the old writers also. How far it is from denoting original sin, need not be shown. Who indeed ever attempted to define the word "original," or the word "sin," without seeing that they cannot possibly be brought together, in any strict or intelligible sense? Is there any meaning in "original righteousness?" Set aside the fact, which abundantly contradicts it, do the words themselves carry to the mind any meaning? We believe man to be prone to evil, as well as to good, originally, naturally. We cannot in any other way account for the terrible amount of sin in the world, or the necessity of such an immense array of means, instructions, institutions, influences, from God and man, to save the world from anarchy and the soul from self-destruction. Man is prone to evil. But how far

this proneness is sinful, is the great question. In itself, as the creation or design of God, it cannot be sinful. When indulged, when consciously allowed, not resisted or controlled, but allowed and aggravated, it is sinful. And this we believe to constitute the definite and true doctrine — more strict, personal, unavoidable, and fearful, than any general idea of a vast undefined evil, a common inheritance, ordained of God, and to be overcome only by his special interposition and irresistible grace. Our own view seems to us at once more reasonable and more humbling. As Mr. Peabody says in his discourse on this subject, one of the best in the volume: "This view magnifies the evil of sin, and makes transgression against God a fit ground for the deepest self-reproach and the most hearty penitence. The sin is mine. I am not tempted of God. I can cast no reproach on the Author of my being. I must lay my hand on my mouth, and my mouth in the dust, and cry, *unclean, unclean.*"

The error that has vitiated all systems of religion, has been the diverting of attention from the individual to the sect or race, and from character to nature. The individual is merged in the multitude. He thinks himself a sinner, because all men are sinners. And he lodges the sin in nature, more than in character. Almost all discussions of this kind have turned upon man's nature. Little has been said of character. When one proposes to join a church, he is questioned closely as to his views of human nature; he is not always questioned as to his own daily conduct and actual character. His feelings, to be sure, are examined, his emotions, and what are called "experiences." But these usually pertain to a recent and brief period, and often are only impulses. Impulses are not character. Opinions are not character. Nature is not character. All these are confounded. They are all important, but none so important as the individual, conscious, free, and habitual character. It is to this that God looks. This makes the heart and the life, on which his present and final judgment will turn. Out of this are the issues of life.

Now if it be true, as we believe and say, that the principle just stated is made more prominent in the Unitarian doctrine than in any other, that doctrine ought to be preached and published. The very fact that we make the

character and life the only essentials, and while we think opinions important, value them only as they bear upon character and life, is a reason, not for silence, but for utterance, — utterance on this point, this doctrine; for a doctrine it is, the fundamental doctrine of our system, and one that is vitally affected by all other doctrines. Other doctrines therefore must be examined. If they stand in the way of this, they must be removed. If they help it, they must be confirmed. If they are inconsistent and erroneous, yet are insisted upon by the majority of believers, held essential, and accepted by any as substitutes for the religious character and the spiritual life, we must speak and write against them. We must at least make known the TRUTH, as the foundation of faith, as doctrine, and light, and eternal life.

There cannot be a doubt, that such publications as that which has led to these remarks, will do good. They help to clear and settle many troubled minds. They give to doctrine its true place and its rightful influence. They are demanded. Men must have something like a system of doctrine or form of faith, which they know, and to which they can cling. The only question is, where shall they get it? We answer, in the Gospel. And then we must help them to understand the Gospel, and satisfy them that it is the true source, the only authority, the all-sufficient creed.

E. B. H.

ART. IX. — THE LATE REV. J. P. B. STORER.

WE are filled with mingled emotions of regret and satisfaction, as we contemplate the many bereavements that have fallen upon the churches of our denomination during the last three or four years; — regret, that our churches are deprived of faithful shepherds, ourselves of the sympathy and counsel of revered fathers and beloved brethren in the ministry, and the great cause of liberal Christianity of able and devoted advocates; satisfaction, that we had such men to lose, that we have their memories to cherish, their characters and example to appeal to, their venerable names to add to the cloud of witnesses among the sainted dead, who in their day and generation have lived and

labored for the truth we prize as "the faith once delivered to the saints." The unusual, we may say the extraordinary, number of deaths that have occurred among the Unitarian clergy during the last three or four years, must have been noticed by all; by many we trust it has been improved to the increase of their faith and higher attainments in the divine life. For a period of more than twenty years previous, the clergy of our denomination, as a body, had been comparatively exempt from the ravages of death. The old, their locks silvered by time, their forms bending beneath the weight of years, were permitted to remain with us longer than we anticipated, to counsel by their wisdom, to encourage by their example. Of those in the meridian of life and usefulness, some who were invalids, always feeble, and at times compelled to relax their labors and recruit, were yet upheld and strengthened, enabled even in ill health and wasting beneath the slow progress of disease, to do much good, and by their characters and their writings render noble services to the cause of truth, of freedom and of human happiness. But within a few years many of these, together with some of the young, whose devoted zeal and noble purposes, and gifts faithfully improved, gave promise of eminent usefulness in the ministry, have departed this life. They have been summoned from "the Church below" to "the Church above," leaving a legacy of "peace and love to the brethren." Their names, hallowed in our hearts, gratefully revered in our mourning churches, shall serve as incentives to fidelity and perseverance. Being dead, they shall yet speak to us, in tones that shall quicken our consciences and stimulate our efforts in Christian and ministerial duty.

As they have occurred from time to time, our journals have contained a record of these sad bereavements, and we would now add a brief but sincere tribute to the memory of one whose death, as a pioneer of our faith in Western New York, has been widely felt, and will be long and deeply lamented.

John Parker Boyd Storer was born in Portland, in the State of Maine, November 6, 1793. His father, a man of eminence and influence, a Unitarian from conviction, the result of thorough examination, was one of the founders and pillars of the first Unitarian society in that city. His

son, early intended and self-consecrated to the ministry, was graduated at Bowdoin College in 1812, at the age of nineteen, and was subsequently for some time a tutor in that institution. Upon resigning this office, and before entering upon preparation for the profession of his choice, he passed three years travelling in Europe, in company with a maternal uncle whose name he bore. Upon his return he repaired to Cambridge, where he pursued the regular course of study at the Theological School connected with the University. Upon leaving the Divinity School Mr. Storer preached with approbation in several places, and in 1826 received and accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Walpole, Mass. This relation subsisted for more than twelve years, with uninterrupted harmony and increasing confidence and interest on both sides. His ministry in this place, though from its position retired, and consequently less known to the public, was not less useful, certainly not less faithfully prosecuted than his subsequent one at Syracuse. Here he infused new strength and vigor into a feeble, and somewhat decayed society, enlarged a diminished church, awakened a general interest in and attendance upon religious institutions and ordinances, produced deep and lasting religious impressions upon many minds, and "made full proof of his ministry." In all that related to the best interests of his flock and of the town, his pure personal character, and his quiet but earnest professional zeal and fidelity, exerted an animating and improving influence, and his name and memory are still cherished there with grateful and affectionate respect.

In 1838, Mr. Storer, suffering even then from the organic disease which ultimately caused his death, took a journey into the western part of New York, to recruit his strength by temporary relaxation of his labors. On this journey opportunity was offered him to preach at Syracuse, where a handful of our brethren were just making efforts to establish a Unitarian society. Finding his health improved and a prospect of usefulness open to him, he remained and preached for them several weeks. From the first, his character and services, his conversation and intercourse with the people, produced not only a favorable, but a strong and decided impression, which speedily ripened into a resolution

to secure, if possible, the permanent enjoyment of them. An invitation to become their pastor, not only unanimous, but accompanied with earnest entreaties and the expression of the deep conviction that their progress and successful establishment depended upon his accepting it, was tendered him by the society. Mr. Storer returned to Walpole, and after consulting with his friends and communing with his own heart, determined — reluctantly, so far as his attachments to the East and his affection for the people of his charge were concerned — to accept the invitation, and on the 20th of June, 1839, he was installed at Syracuse. Here he lived and labored five years with an unfaltering fidelity and an honorable success. "Through that deeply trying period of mercantile embarrassment, failures and prostration of all the energies of business, which has but lately been brought to a close, Mr. Storer continued faithful to his work, asking nothing but a bare supply of the necessaries of life for himself alone. His labors were untiring, unremitting and faithful. He would approve no measures for the immediate erection of a place of worship, until they could be taken without involving the society in debt. When at last that decisive step was justifiable, he came on a visit to Boston. From this inexhaustible fountain, whence a perpetual stream of large charities is ever going forth to all parts of the world, he obtained valuable pecuniary aid, chiefly through his own solicitation of individuals. He had the satisfaction of seeing the results of his long and patient toil in a well established society, a numerous church, and a flourishing Sunday school, with its charity circle, meeting in a beautiful temple for whose walls he had labored, and from whose pulpit he had spoken the high truths of the Gospel."*

But the temporal prosperity and spiritual growth of his own society at Syracuse, are by no means the measure of his usefulness. From this point his labors and his influence radiated in all directions through an extended and ever-widening circle. His professional services, always acceptable and impressive, were continually solicited in neighboring places more or less distant, and every such invitation he held himself ready to meet at whatever cost of personal

* Christian Register, April 6, 1844.

ease and convenience. His dignified but kind and courteous manners, his amiable disposition and sincerity of heart, distinctly manifested in every expression of his countenance and his lips, admirably adapted him to win confidence and respect among strangers, and to exert a beneficial influence in personal intercourse. And doubtless some of his most profitable hours were those passed in private conversation with the many persons with whom his varied and extensive intercourse with the people of Western New York brought him in contact. He lost no opportunity of usefulness of this kind which circumstances afforded him.

In this way he was ever at work, sowing the seeds of truth wherever he could find a single spot, however small and humble, on which to drop them; and individuals in that section of the country, on whose judgment we rely and who had no personal predilections to gratify in speaking his praise, have assured us that it is next to impossible for us here at the East to estimate the extent of his personal influence, and the good he did through private conversations as a pioneer of the faith, in removing prejudice, in enlightening the ignorant who knew not or misapprehended our views, in counselling and guiding to the light of truth those whose minds were in doubt because they had outgrown their early creeds. His time, his sympathies, his instructions, and his books were ever at the service of such as these, and in this way was he perpetually and extensively, amidst opposition and prejudice, diffusing the influence of Christian truth.

The labors which Mr. Storer thus performed, both as a pastor faithful to his immediate charge, and as a missionary prompt to go, if possible, to every spot whence the cry, "Come over and help us," reached him, would have exhausted the strength of a man of sound constitution and vigorous health. He enjoyed not these blessings, precious to all, inestimable to the zealous and faithful minister. His erect and noble form, his firm step and general appearance indicated health, but a fatal disease was secretly and silently besieging the gates of life. Many years since, his own sufferings and medical opinion made him aware that he had a disease of the heart. Its progress, hitherto very gradual, became two or three years ago so accelerated, that the advice of physicians and the exhortations of kindred

and friends urged him to seek prolonged life in repose. "But the hand of man could not hold him back when the hand of God seemed so plainly leading him on." He determined to persevere till the work that he felt was given him to do, was accomplished; and beneath the pressure of pain and debility, that daily increased, though his frame bowed not and no trace of decay was visible on his mild and tranquil countenance, he did persevere, till the society whose infancy he had nurtured seemed strong in its manhood, till its new and beautiful church was completed and dedicated, till he had proclaimed the truth as it is in Jesus from its pulpit, till at its table of communion he had distributed to the brethren the tokens of a crucified Saviour's love, and in that hallowed hour uttered his parting counsels, benedictions, and prayers. Then was he willing to seek repose; and then the repose that earth cannot disturb was given him. All the preparations for a remission of labor and a return to his friends in New England had been made. On Sunday, the 10th of March, he was unable to preach, but administered the rite of baptism. "On the previous Sunday he had administered the communion — it was his last public service; and preached from the text, 'It is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing;' but his voice was checked with sobs, and at last stifled with tears, and he could only say, 'Thou canst hear the prayer we cannot utter!'" On Saturday, March 16, after an evening spent in cheerful and Christian conversation, he retires to rest; and in the morning it is found, "he had indeed fallen asleep sweetly in Jesus, with no trace of pain on his countenance, no mark of disturbance in his repose, no signs that he was not then resting in peace on his Father's outspread arms." Beautiful and appropriate close to a holy, useful, and devoted life! "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

Though it has been our pleasure to know and honor Mr. Storer for many years, we had not that intimate acquaintance and those opportunities of familiar intercourse and daily observation, which would authorize the attempt at a minute delineation of his character. Its leading, prominent feature (and a noble one it was,) is manifest from this brief sketch of his life and labors. It is a singular coincidence

that the sermon preached at his ordination at Walpole, by Rev. Dr. Nichols, and that preached thirteen years afterwards at his installation at Syracuse, by Rev. Dr. Dewey, were both from the same text,—"I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." The spirit of this text was embodied in Mr. Storer's character, constituted its chief feature, was the secret of his usefulness, and the foundation of his claim to the high regard and grateful remembrance of those whose views of Christian truth he advocated and diffused. Though he was well read as a theologian, and had learning, sacred and profane, amply sufficient to meet all the circumstances in which he was placed, deep, profound and extensive scholarship will not be claimed for him. Though his talents were highly respectable and well disciplined, we do not affirm that his intellectual powers were of the highest order — brilliant, dazzling and commanding. But he was *devoted;* devoted, heart, mind, and strength, to the work and purposes of the Christian ministry. He determined not to know anything among men save Christ, and him crucified. He had no higher, rather should we say, no lower ambition, than to be a faithful, devoted, labor-loving, self-sacrificing minister of Jesus. This was the thought that governed, and with a continually increasing power, during the latter years of life, absorbed his mind, made his instructions and example effective persuasions to truth and righteousness, and crowned his labors with a success, (often denied to more splendid gifts and more exciting eloquence,) which writes as "with the diamond pen of Providence" over his grave, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

This view of his character is forcibly presented in the following passage, (which, with some previous sentences, we have been permitted to extract from the manuscript,) of a discourse delivered at Rochester on the Sunday after his interment, by Rev. F. W. Holland, with which we close this imperfect tribute to the memory of a good man and a devoted minister.

"We do not pretend that this departed husbandman sowed all the seed whose up-springing God has so richly blest. We do not forget others who have also watched, watered, quickened the rising but tender blade, and shield-

ed it from the withering ray of persecution and the biting mildew of neglect. But he has kept in his ever warm heart a leaping life-fountain, and in his apostolic epistles has sent forth a living stream of urgent admonition, spiritual sympathy, zealous effort, and signally wise counsel. This, I maintain, distinguished him from most ministers, and hardly ever failed him, — the doing the right thing and saying the fit word and suggesting the best plan, often in emergencies of the most difficult nature. At his own post he bore cheerfully, manfully, serenely, triumphantly, every kind of opposition, every domestic privation, every personal hardship; and he bore all, not for a pittance of emolument, which for a time came hardly from a few, not for a name, which the next tide of moving souls may wash away, not to erect any party banner, flapping wildly against the unfettered breezes of this Western thought, but for what he believed, in all sincerity, to be God's highest truth, — the truth which he had felt, loved, prayed over, mused upon, proved sufficient in every walk of personal experience or pastoral necessity. He gave to this truth the testimony of a pure, upright, humane, earnest, devout soul, in his hours of health; and when the shadows of the last night began to press heavily on his aching heart, he then showed how cruel the calumny, that the mercy of the Father and fidelity to his Son are not faith enough to soothe the fevered brow and guide the spent spirit to repose.

I thank God that he died at his post; the seals of his calling around him; the witnesses of his fidelity bending now in serene trust over a martyr's grave. In this day of ministerial instability and parochial fickleness, we rejoice over one taking leave of his shepherd-crook by his Master's call, among a flock which he had led to the fountains of living water; who, through all discouragement, had held on bravely yet trustingly, heroically yet humbly, to the end; whose ministry on earth was formally closed in preparation for a higher ministry with angels, — the sanctuary vestments just laid aside, as an unseen hand clothed him in the pure white of the saints, — the altar vessels exchanged for those golden harps which ever breathe the praise of God and the Lamb. Though I feel sadly the chasm that is made, I can but be thankful for the generous, manly, zealous life which has just passed into a wider, happier

sphere of existence, in the fittest possible time, by a gentle and blessed gliding away. Truly

'There is no death to those who know of life,
No time to those who see eternity.'

Justly of him may we now sing the beautiful hymn,

'Servant of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ:
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy!'"

S. K. L.

Art. X. — SERVICE BOOKS.*

There is, we have reason to believe, a very erroneous idea in the minds of many, connected with the worship of the Sabbath. It is, that the people assemble solely, or principally, to hear; to be listeners, and not to be agents; to be silent spectators of devotion in others, not to engage in it themselves. Undoubtedly the people assemble, or should assemble, in part to hear, to listen to expositions of spiritual truth, to religious counsel and warning. But it is a sad mistake, to suppose that this is the one great object of going to church. The right view of the subject is, that the people assemble, themselves to engage in an act of worship, — to become themselves worshippers. This is the Christian view. A Christian congregation is an assembly of worshippers, and not of mere listeners. If this be so, then the Liturgic services of the church, including singing, (and a similar remark may be made of the services of Sunday schools,) should be adapted to excite and aid the devotion of the people, — the great body of those present

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* 1. *Service Book; for the use of the Church of the Disciples. Taken principally from the Old and New Testaments. — The Disciples' Hymn Book; a Collection of Hymns and Chants for Public and Private Devotion. Prepared for the use of the Church of the Disciples.* Boston: B. H. Greene. 1844. 16mo. pp. 183 and 378.

2. *The Sunday School Service Book. In Three Parts.* Part First; Devotional Exercises for the School. Part Second; Hymns for the School. Part Third; Prayers and Hymns for Teachers' Meetings. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 372.

3. *Hymns and Tunes for Vestry and Conference Meetings.* By Edwin M. Stone. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. pp. 96.

as worshippers. In this respect, we are inclined to believe, with all due deference to the opinions of those who think otherwise, that our Congregational worship, as frequently conducted, is somewhat deficient. The body of worshippers take too little share in it. It can hardly be called social, much less *congregational*, worship. It is too much the act of a single individual, and leaves the heart of the multitude unmoved. They do not feel that they are themselves worshippers. We must be permitted to say that we think this a great and prevailing defect, and we ardently wish to see it remedied.

It has been charged as a defect on Protestant communions generally, that they do not provide sufficiently for the culture of the "devotional feelings," that they address men too exclusively on "the side of the intellect," that they make religion too much a matter of pure reason. Catholicism addresses more the eye and the imagination, and provides more "outward excitements to devotion." One objection to it is, that it relies too much on the outward, and consequently leaves the mind "sluggish," that it encumbers and crushes the spirit of devotion beneath the weight of forms. If we, a portion of the descendants of the Puritans who may be considered as representing the very van of the Protestant army, are in the other extreme, if we make our worship too little a social exercise — too much a solitary feeling of the heart, — if there is too little of warmth and sympathy in it — too little to touch the sensibility and awaken and elevate devout feeling, it is certainly desirable that the error should be corrected. For this reason we are friendly to congregational singing as an act of Christian devotion on the part of the visible worshippers. Religion itself is but a higher harmony, the concert of all the inward faculties and feelings breathed upon by the Divine spirit, the union of the soul with the great Source of all order and beauty, its calm dwelling with God, the highest peace; and hence its natural alliance with music, which

> "Untwisting all the chains that tie
> The hidden soul of harmony,"

at once enkindles devotional sentiment and furnishes a fit expression of it. A hymn is a prayer, yea, often the high-

est prayer. The best hymns are either ascriptions, or simple breathings of penitence and desire; in them there is the uprising of the soul to God, and that is true prayer.

We would then have the music, or singing, and Liturgic services of the church adapted to aid the devotion of the congregation, to make the congregation themselves worshippers. Nothing else satisfies us. We can look with reverence on the most lowly assembly of Christian worshippers lifting up their hearts to God in strains of music, or prayers, the most inartificial. We can sympathise with the devout expression of such music, and such simple promptings of the heart in prayer, and we would choose rather to worship in such an assembly than have our devotional feelings chilled by a mere cold exhibition of the beauties of art in the most gorgeous edifice man ever reared. We join in worship to meet our God there, and if He be not in it, it is no worship for us.

Entertaining these views, we are prepared to like the general plan of Mr. Clarke's "Service Book." It answers the demand made by the heart of the worshipper; it has sufficient variety, yet is simple, both in its matter and arrangement; it avoids the repetition and confusion observable in many of the old prayer-books, and the service is not, as in some of them, made tedious by its length; and it unites the advantages of extempore prayer with something fixed, and especially with well chosen Scriptural aids to devotion. One of its excellencies is that, with the exception of the Te Deum, the Morning and Evening Hymns, and two of the Litanies, one of which agrees in the main with that used at King's Chapel, Boston, (which is taken with few variations, besides the expunging of certain unscriptural doctrines and expressions, from the Liturgy found in the Book of Common Prayer,) the whole of it is from the Bible; consisting of Sentences to be read, a Confession, the Lord's Prayer, Selections from the Psalms, and from the Prophets, Scriptural Litanies, and closing Ascriptions.

We are particularly pleased with what the Compiler calls "Litanies from the New Testament," which he says he has "prepared merely by way of experiment." We see not why the language of the New Testament should not be used for purposes of devotion, as well as that of the Old. It is in many respects better suited to the needs of Chris-

tians, and breathes more of the spirit which may be expected to animate a follower of Christ.

We like the principle on which the Hymns (381 in number, which, together with several Chants, are bound in one volume with the Service Book,) are selected, that is, of excluding all merely didactic hymns, and many others which encumber nearly all our Collections, the most improved even, but which nobody, we suppose, ever thinks of using. There are some fifty or a hundred hymns in what are called our best Collections, which we have always wished were out of the way. Some of the hymns in the present Collection are addressed to the Saviour, and to this, which certainly has early usage in its favor, we do not object; though Mr. Clarke seems a little inconsistent, when having assigned as a reason, why the hymns in the volume are "mostly direct addresses to God," the fact that "singing is an act of worship," he proceeds in the next sentence to say, "nor have we scrupled to address also our risen Master." That he does not mean such address, however, should be regarded as an act of worship, appears from what he immediately adds, that, according to the teachings of the Saviour himself, "all worship and prayer must be directed to the Father." The term "worship," it is well known, is now used in a much more restricted sense than when our present English version of the Bible was made, so that the instances in which persons are spoken of in it, as falling down and *worshipping* Jesus, that is, doing him reverence, after the custom of the East, furnish no justification of those who would make him an object of worship, as the term is now used to express supreme religious homage. "See thou do it not; worship God."

The mechanical execution of the book is worthy of notice. It is exceedingly neat and pleasing to the eye; though we could point out a few slight changes or corrections, which, should the work come to a second edition, we should desire to see made. We wish, too, that more pains had been taken to trace the hymns credited to the Sunday School Hymn Book, to their original sources. To mention a single instance, the first three verses of the fifty-eighth hymn, here credited to the "Sun. School H. B." were original in Mr. Sewall's (the New York) Collection, for which they were furnished by one of our best female

writers. A slight change only has been made, — for the worse, we think, and the fourth verse is far inferior to that for which it is substituted. Other hymns which are given as anonymous, might have been ascribed to the authors of whom they are now the well-known productions, and who are entitled to the credit of such verses as those, particularly, which we find in the hymn beginning, "Calm on the listening ear of night," by Rev. E. H. Sears, or in that by the late H. Ware, beginning "Great God, the followers of thy Son."

The Sunday School Service Book "by one of the officers" of the "Sunday School Society" to which it is dedicated, possesses, we think, as a whole, very great merit. From the remarks with which we commenced, it may be inferred that we favor the use of such books, as tending to make the devotional exercises of the school personal on the part of the children. We have heard them objected to by teachers, who tell us, that after the service has been read a few times, it ceases to interest, and the children begin to show symptoms of inattention and weariness. We have not been accustomed, however, to consider this objection insuperable. We have supposed that a service-book might be so constructed and used as in a great measure, if not wholly, to do it away, and we hesitate not to say that the one before us approaches far nearer to what we conceive such a book should be, than any other which has hitherto fallen under our eye. It is prepared by an experienced teacher, and is in some of its features, we believe, original. The plan is different, at least, from that of any other we have seen, and the Services being thirteen in number, besides a New Year's and an Anniversary Service, the same service occurs only once in three months.

The Service consists of eleven parts; a Lesson from the Scriptures, Lesson for the Day, and the Class Lessons, constituting three of them; and four hymns, a Devotional Exercise from the Scriptures, Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and Benediction, making up the remainder. Each service has a specific subject, as "True Worship," "Early Piety," the "Scriptures," "God in his Works," "Character and Mission of Jesus Christ," "Love to God," and others of a similar kind. All parts of the service given have reference

to this subject, and the lesson for the day, which is to be read by the superintendent, and the class lessons, are expected to relate to the same. There are certainly several advantages attending this plan.

The whole service, with the lessons, is supposed to occupy an hour and a quarter. It will doubtless be objected by some persons, that there is too much of it, that it leaves too little time at the disposal of the teachers, to be occupied with the class lessons, and that it is better suited to constitute a whole half-day's religious exercise with children, than to fill a space before or after the usual church services. Such was our first impression, but we confess that this impression has been in a great measure removed by a more careful examination of the book, and by further reflection on the subject. We know something of the wants of Sunday schools, and are very sensible of the imperfection of the method pursued in many of them, and of the little fruit which is the result. It is impossible to deny that the exercises, as they are often conducted, are wearisome to children. We think that the variety and change introduced into the present service book will tend in part to prevent this weariness. Further, we must be allowed to express our belief that half an hour is as much as can, in ordinary cases, be profitably given to the class-lessons. It is as long as grown up people are usually willing to listen to a sermon, and the exposition or illustration of a child's lesson, we think, ought not to occupy a longer time, at least unless the school is remarkably favored with good teachers. There are teachers, we know, to whom the children seem never weary of listening, and by whom their interest in the exercise may be sustained an hour and more. But take the schools throughout the land, Orthodox or Liberal, they may consider themselves fortunate, if one-tenth part of the teachers are of this description. Such teachers furnish the exception, and not the rule. We do not speak this as matter of censure. We are simply stating a fact, which is very readily accounted for, and it would be strange if the fact were otherwise. There is less need, too, that the class lesson be protracted, as, where the service book under notice is used, the lesson for the day, to say nothing of the prayers and selections, relates to the same subject. We beg, however, that we may not be misunderstood when we

use the word "lesson" and speak of its exposition or illustration, as if we referred to "manuals," or books of questions and answers; which we could wish to see nearly, if not wholly, banished from our Sunday schools, where, with few exceptions, they are still retained, as much probably from the circumstance that the teachers want confidence in themselves to proceed in the exercise without them, as from any other cause. The true method of conducting the exercise is, we conceive, by familiar conversation.

As to the length and number of the other parts of the service, to which the supposed objection refers, they can be reduced at the discretion of the superintendent, and probably will be, in most cases; yet there may be instances in which the whole may be wanted. For ourselves, we are disposed to think, that where the children attend the usual exercises of the church immediately before or after the Sunday school exercises, an hour given to the latter is better than a longer time. To the objection, if such an objection be made, that the same subjects of instruction, and those limited to thirteen, will recur in a circle, it may be replied, that only parts of them need be taken up at one time, and while as a whole they embrace all the great points in religion, most of them are of so large a compass as to admit of having an almost indefinite number of lessons given under each. The language and spirit of the Services are excellent.

The Hymns exhibit a choice selection and rich variety. They are 308 in number, and are arranged under twenty-four divisions. A third Part is added, containing prayers and hymns to aid the devotions of teachers at their meetings. The prayers, nine in number, were prepared by several of the compiler's "friends, of the clergy," with the exception of one, taken from the writings of the late Dr. Greenwood, and one by a superintendent, and 45 hymns are given. This part of the volume, we doubt not, will be found useful, and was necessary to its completeness as a service book. We hope that the work will receive a fair trial, and if it does not answer its object, let a better be made, if any person can be found to execute the task.

Of the last book named at the commencement of this article — "Hymns and Tunes for Vestry and Conference.

Meetings," — we have left ourselves little room to speak, and can only say, in general terms, that we are much pleased with it. Something of the kind has been long wanted, and is now especially acceptable, when the practice of the old and primitive congregational singing is reviving among us, which is sure to bring back a taste for the old, simple and devotional music. The book is a small one, modest, and unpretending; but it well fulfils its design. It embraces a sufficient variety of tunes to answer the purpose for which the publication is intended, and these, as well as the hymns, two or three of which are given to each tune, seem to us to have been well chosen. A. L.

ART. XI.—PRESENT POSITION OF UNITARIANISM.

WE endeavored in our last number to present a correct view of the internal state of our denomination, so far as it had been affected by the more important circumstances of our recent history. We proceed now to consider its external, or relative position, — to ascertain how far its place and influence, as one of the divisions of the Christian Church, are such as we can regard with satisfaction. Our remarks cannot at present extend beyond our own country. We hope at a future time to be the means of bringing before our readers some statements respecting the condition of Unitarianism in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe, which shall be entitled to their confidence. The questions now to be answered are these; — has Unitarian Christianity gained any diffusion in the United States within the last fifteen or twenty years; and, if we give to this inquiry an affirmative reply, has its progress been as great as its friends anticipated; or, if not equal to their hopes, has it been as great as they ought to have expected?

To the first of these questions we at once return an affirmative reply, and we doubt if there be any need of spending time in adducing proof of its justice. We presume every one will admit that there are more Unitarians, and more Unitarian churches now, than there were twenty, or twelve years ago; that our doctrines are better understood, and our name more familiar to men's ears. Even

those who try to talk about the decline of Unitarianism only mean, we suppose, that the growth of other sects has been more rapid, and has left us in a more decisive minority. This is the point upon which there may be difference of opinion, and about which we should especially desire to reach the truth. With a positive increase, we may yet have relatively lost ground. Is it so? Are facts against us? Are tendencies against us?

We have at times hesitated in regard to the answer that should be made to these inquiries. We have, perhaps, sometimes yielded to a feeling of discouragement, and doubted if what we held to be Scriptural religion was making its way through the community. The tone of exultation with which other sects have spoken of our decrease, we have been prompted by a candid judgment towards them to suppose had some support in truth, and would be found, to our sorrow, to be authorised by an examination of facts. We were willing however to know the truth, and have therefore taken some pains to review the facts on which such an opinion should rest; and we now say, in perfect honesty, that they do not present to us any ground for discouragement, nor furnish any occasion for the prophetic rejoicing of those who anticipate our downfall. It is the hopes (or the fears,) and not the information, of those who use pleasant words respecting the *decay* of Unitarianism, which supplies them with the material for ingenious paragraphs in a sermon or a review.

That our views of religion are embraced by more persons in the United States now than were at least known to entertain them a few years ago, we say, cannot be denied. Look in what direction we may, we perceive evidence of such increase. Go to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, yes, anti-Unitarian Connecticut, which meets you at its borders with the Saybrook Platform in one hand and the Common Prayer-Book in the other, and gives you your choice between these two symbols of faith, — and you will find more, and *stronger* societies than could be found in 1830, to look no farther back. If we pass out of New England, the progress of a Scriptural faith is seen to be still more unquestionable. In the city of New York the condition and the *influence* of the Unitarian churches there indicate a substantial growth. In

the opposite city of Brooklyn, where our friends not long since met in a small chapel, the stranger is attracted by the elegance of a costly structure bearing the name of the Saviour whom the Father sent into the world. Proceeding along the western line of travel through the State, instead of the one solitary building — at Trenton — in which, in the year we have named, the believers in the simple unity of God assembled, if we now stop at Albany, Syracuse, Rochester or Buffalo, to omit all mention of other smaller places, we can go up to the sanctuary with those whose prayers are offered to the Father alone. Still beyond, at Chicago, and still farther on, at Milwaukie, do we now find not the promise, but the *fact*, of a congregation listening to the Gospel as we understand it, within walls which they have erected and consecrated. While through this whole region infant societies, in town or village, show what a few more years must add to our statistical enumeration. If we take our course through the valley of the Mississippi, while at every step the conviction grows upon us that more ought to have been done, and golden opportunities have been lost, we discover proofs of successful labor and encouragements to more active exertion. We need only name St. Louis as furnishing an example of what may be accomplished, and has been accomplished within one half the time we have selected as the limit of our examination, by faithful, judicious and disinterested zeal. In the Southern States peculiar circumstances have in one or two instances caused the disappointment of well-founded expectations; but even in the South Unitarianism has not less manifestation nor less weight, than it had at the period from which we commence our inquiries. So likewise in Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia we have gained, rather than lost strength. Look then the whole country over, and it is increase which we notice, and not diminution. That this augmentation of our numbers has not equalled the sanguine hopes which some among us entertained, we are ready to admit; but we believe it has been as great as *with the means which we have used* ought to have been expected, and to us it is clear that the tendencies which these and other less conspicuous facts reveal are strongly towards the diffusion of a liberal and sound theology.

It may be said however, that we have chosen to conceal

our chagrin at the state of things nearer home beneath this affirmation of progress at a distance. Not so. We wish to look at home, and see and tell the truth here also. An impression, we learn, has gone abroad to some extent that Unitarianism is not in as good a condition in Boston, or in Massachusetts, now as it was when Dr. Beecher gave forth his prediction that there should be an Orthodox church in every town in the State. Supposing that his prediction had effected its own fulfilment, as human predictions, when uttered with a confidence that is the first element of success, sometimes do, what would now be the result? That Unitarianism would be absolutely weaker than it was then? Not necessarily, at least; for it might meanwhile not only have gathered new energy, but have actually enlarged its domain. It might *relatively* have less force, because an antagonist influence had acquired a still more rapid growth, — and this we believe to have been the case, in consequence of circumstances to which we shall presently advert; but the fact of its absolute increase of strength might be, as we believe it is, beyond all just dispute. There are more Unitarian societies in this Commonwealth now than there were at the period to which we refer; and many, if not most of them are in a healthier condition. And how stands the case in Boston? In 1830, there were in this city fourteen churches, (including one under the charge of the ministry-at-large,) connected with our denomination. There are now eighteen. At that time, and subsequently, some of these churches were embarrassed by debt, and had not the numerical strength which the capacity of their respective houses of worship might have secured for them. Now, we believe, without an exception, they are free from debt, and but in one instance, where an unhappy dissension, having no reference to theological doctrine, has greatly enfeebled the society, they include large bodies of worshippers. We mean to say, what cannot be contradicted, that there are not only more places of Unitarian worship in Boston now than there were fourteen years ago, but that our older congregations are more numerous. Here then, again, the facts and the tendencies seem to be in our favor.

Still we are far from maintaining that there has not been a *relative* decrease of our denomination in this city. It

does not include so large a proportion of the citizens as it once did. The Trinitarian sects have also grown, and if we place them together in one scale, and ourselves in the other, we must acknowledge that they have gained a greater augmentation of weight than we. Both in numbers and in influence — we do not wish to hide the truth — they have outgrown the body to which we belong. There is more of Orthodox theology, and more of Orthodox influence in Boston than there was when the Unitarian controversy subsided some twenty years back, and more than there was even five years ago. But this is easily explained, in consistency with all that we have before said. The last few years have seen an increase of population unprecedented in any former period in the history of this metropolis. In 1820 the population was 43,000; it now exceeds 100,000. Of this large increase the greater part has come into the city from the country. The larger proportion of these new inhabitants have of course come from Trinitarian churches, because in the country Trinitarianism is, and has always been, the prevalent religion, and they bring with them their Trinitarian prepossessions and habits. Many, and perhaps most of them bring an aversion and dread of Unitarianism which have been fostered by the religious teachers to whom they have listened. When, therefore, they plant themselves here, they seek the religious associations to which they have been accustomed, and form their parochial connexions accordingly. It was an inevitable result, which the least foresight might have anticipated, that a growth like that which has marked the recent history of this place must add strength to other denominations rather than to our own.

One consequence of this influx of population we have not been able to contemplate without regret and anxiety. We have seen the moral influence of the town passing out of our hands. Once — and the time is not very remote — social influence in Boston was almost wholly with the Unitarians. Our public men, our men of letters, the men who gave an impulse to public sentiment and directed opinion, were members of our body. This preponderance of social power we no longer retain, for the obvious reason which has just been assigned, — that we hold a less prominent position than formerly, when we were in point of numbers

the principal sect in the city. We do not complain of this change. It is but right that the opinions of others should have their due share of representation in the various departments of public responsibleness, and their proper measure of influence in society. Our regret is founded upon the conviction that the best interests of the social state are advanced by the prevalence of liberal sentiment, and our anxiety arises from a distrust of the use which Orthodoxy will make of the power it shall have acquired. We have known too much of its exclusive and despotic character, where it has held the ascendancy, not to be apprehensive of the effect that would be realized, if it should wield public opinion here. We wish our friends, who sometimes express great satisfaction in the increase of our numbers, to be aware of the fact, that so long as other denominations increase faster than we, our influence in the community must decline.

We do not suppose that the loss of influence is confined to Boston. We are not relatively so strong in the Commonwealth as we were in days which we all remember. Although the difference is not so perceptible beyond as within this immediate neighborhood, it is sufficient to deserve our notice. The cause may be found, we believe, in the activity of other sects, and the supineness of our own. There has been a deliberate, strenuous, and well planned concert of action against us. Means have been diligently used to turn the confidence of the people in other directions. Especially have the Sunday schools been made instruments, not so much of sectarian warfare as of sectarian protection. Thousands and tens of thousands of children have been trained up in attachment to opinions which we reject, and for which they are ready to labor in the church and out of the church. This process has been going on for some years, and we begin to experience its effects. A new generation is entering upon the exercise of political rights, and a participation in the management of the public interests, — a generation who have been carefully instructed to oppose Unitarianism. That it may prevail against this educated resistance, we need only to be faithful to the service which it demands of us. But if we grow careless, and leave the truth to defend or spread itself, we may have the mortification of seeing it driven back from the position which it has already gained.

With all these deductions, we derive from the history of the last few years much more occasion to rejoice over the present state of our denomination, than to be disheartened for the future. There have been influences and events suited to place obstacles in its way, which, however, have not prevented progress. We have just alluded to one of these, in the organized and disciplined force of opinion of late brought to bear against us. Besides this external hindrance, we have suffered the disadvantage of circumstances and dispositions among ourselves, of which we took notice in our former article. We have been troubled with differences, which, though they have not destroyed our unity, yet have impaired our strength. How much more might we not have done for the diffusion of our faith, if our sympathies had flowed together. Then there has been that morbid dread of sectarianism of which we spoke. This has been a continual restraint upon our exertions. It has taken at times an attitude of hostility to plans which have been proposed for the propagation of our tenets, and at other times has chosen to give its countenance to opinions which it regarded as unscriptural, rather than to those which it theoretically approved. Strange as it must seem to many of our readers, we have known instances in which Unitarians have been more liberal to other denominations than to their own, actually promoting error that they might escape the charge of a sectarian attachment to truth, and doing injustice to their own convictions that they might avoid the sin of uncharitableness.

What disappointments, too, and bereavements have we endured in the termination of the most efficient ministries on which our body could lean. Without claiming for the ministry an undue importance, we may be allowed to assume that the prosperity of a religious denomination, its influence in the land, and its success in spreading a knowledge of its distinctive opinions must depend mainly upon its clergy. Perhaps no denomination was ever more favored with an enlightened and devoted clergy than we have been; and certainly none could record in the same space of time a greater loss of ministerial service than we have endured within the last ten years. It does not become us to speak here of the living who have felt themselves compelled by the indications of Providence to exchange the

pulpit for the chair of academical instruction or the retreat of rural employment, and we would not presume to question the correctness, as we could not for a moment doubt the purity of their decision. But that such men should have been withdrawn from the work which they were prosecuting with so much benefit to the Church, may be numbered among the disadvantages with which we have been obliged to contend. Still more serious in its effect upon our prosecution of the service entrusted to us as defenders of Divine truth, has been the loss of those honored men who have entered upon their reward. We need not name them, for their names are written on every heart. Nor will we attempt to describe the relations which they sustained to the cause which they, with us, held dearer than life. That one after another of the very foremost in our number, leaders whom we followed, not with a blind reverence, but from the impulse of an ennobling sympathy; men who had won for our exposition of the Gospel an attention which would not be given to a less persuasive eloquence, and whose characters extorted the admiration which would have been denied to a less harmonious excellence; that such men should be successively taken in what, speaking after the manner of this world, we should call the prime of their life and the midst of their usefulness, and in the brief interval of a few months we be deprived of their counsel and co-operation, when, as we should have judged, these were most needed by us, is a part of the Divine Providence to which we can only bow in the submission of a religious trust. Sacred and precious shall be their remembrance! Like the dewy freshness of morning, shall it come over our wearied spirits. Like a voice of sweet entreaty, shall it persuade us to new diligence in the work of the Lord. Like a ray of sunlight shall it rest on our path, to guide and cheer us when we are ready to faint under the depression of their absence. In their lives did they render good service to God's holy truth, and in their deaths did they prove its sufficiency to man in his greatest need.*

* We may not let this opportunity pass of contradicting what we are tempted to call a profligate falsehood. It has been said in private and in public, through the press and from the pulpit, that Dr. Channing renounced his Unitarian views before his death. It has evidently been thought

Notwithstanding these circumstances which have interrupted or checked our efficiency as a denomination, we have steadily increased, not only in numerical, but in moral strength. In spite of differences and hindrances we have been continually gaining instead of losing ground as a communion of Christian believers. And there is no point of time in our past history at which we have exhibited such signs of vigorous health as at the present moment. We have noticed the evidence which is given in the visible prosperity of our churches. We might adduce the interest which our denomination is taking in the establishment of new societies, and in the employment of missionary preachers. We might advert to the contributions of the last year for these objects, — small in comparison with the gifts of other sects whose numbers ten-fold or a hundred-fold exceed ours, and who have been trained by years of discipline to the habit of religious beneficence, — but furnishing the promise of a larger liberality hereafter. We might cite the condition of our periodical journals, insufficiently supported as they still are, but yet receiving a constant increase of patronage. Is it not an indication of some *life* in so small a body, that they are able to sustain two weekly religious papers and two monthly magazines, besides the larger journal whose pages we are now filling? Or, to name only

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that the influence of all which his writings contain in vindication of such opinions would be very much abated if this story were believed. It is as groundless as it is untrue The only foundation that, we can learn, has ever been alleged in its support is a passage in a letter to a correspondent in England; written not just before his death, but some time previously, when, if any such change had taken place in his belief, he could not, as an honest man, have suffered the circulation of his works to continue without public declaration that he no longer considered them faithful expositions of truth. In that letter he remarks, in effect, that he is every day less a Unitarian; but, in such a connexion as to show most clearly that he intends only to express his growing dislike to sectarian organization, which, though always strong, it is well known, increased upon him in later years. That an expression whose meaning was so obvious, should have been perverted to the use which has been made of it, both in this country and in England, is one of the mournful examples of the dishonesty to which men are tempted by religious bigotry. Dr. Channing died, as he had lived, a Unitarian. We speak advisedly and solemnly on this point. We had opportunities of knowing whether any change came over his opinions after the publication of his collected writings which he authorized, and we pronounce the statement that he relinquished his Unitarian persuasions to be utterly false. Let it never be repeated by any one who cares for truth or justice, for his own honor or for the memory of the dead.

one other indication of our present state, we might remind our readers of the scene presented one month since at the Collation "furnished by the Unitarian laymen of Boston to the clergy of their denomination," when between eight and nine hundred persons sat down at a festival, which was attended by no more only because the largest hall which could be procured in the city would receive no more guests. Nor was the spectacle presented at any of our recent Anniversaries or Conventions suited to create discouragement. We do not say these things in a vain spirit of vaunting. We wish only that those of our readers who may not have observed the facts of our history with sufficient care, should hold in just estimation the announcement which ever and anon adorns the columns of some religious newspaper, that Unitarianism is just dying or quite dead!

We do not intend to give the impression, that we have no need to be wakeful or active. At no time has there been more occasion for a vigilant fidelity to the cause which we have undertaken to maintain. We are inclined to think, that at no previous period has there been a more determined purpose on the part of those who regard our opinions as contrary to the Gospel to eradicate them from the land, or a stronger hope that their efforts would be crowned with success. A recent example of the spirit and the hope with which they are filled is too significant to be overlooked. The late election for a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College was not more remarkable for the course which was pursued to eject Mr. Putnam from the seat into which he had once been chosen, than for the triumphant auguries respecting the future condition of that institution, into which some persons were afterwards by their great joy, though rather imprudently, betrayed. Of the secret history of that election, of the consultations and the calculations which preceded it, we perhaps know more than it was intended should be known beyond the proper circle, and we at one time thought of putting upon our pages a statement of the whole matter, with an examination of the arguments on which gentlemen relied for setting aside an election which had been fully made and officially proclaimed, and over which the Board had therefore no longer any retractive control, the remedy for their error, if error they had committed, lying not with them, but with

the judicial tribunals of the Commonwealth. Of the character of one of those arguments, particularly, we are strongly tempted to utter ourselves as we felt at the time, and have felt ever since. But we doubt whether any good would come from enkindling a controversy into which some warmth of personal feeling would necessarily enter, and as we do not covet strife, we will not provoke it. We would only remind the friends of the College, that if they would preserve it from becoming the plaything of political demagogues and the captive of religious exclusiveness, they must merge all petty discontents in their devotion to its interests, as the only institution of its class in the country where the principles of a true religious liberality are practically maintained. There are those who are conscientiously bent on making it a sectarian institution. We join with those who are as conscientiously determined, if possible, to prevent their accomplishing their object. Save us only from the idle confidence that sees no danger till the mine is ready to be sprung, and we fear not the result.

We should say something about the conversions from Unitarianism which are bruited through the country, if we thought them of any moment, except in view of the false impressions which they are often used to communicate. We neither deny them, nor are surprised at them. At a time when instability of opinion is one of the characteristics of the age, and when every sect is losing and every sect is gaining members, it would be unaccountably strange, if there were no defections from our number. When Episcopalianism counts its accessions to the ministry from what it sweetly calls "Dissenting bodies" by hundreds, and Romanism even receives into its bosom the descendants of a Puritan ancestry, when Presbyterians become Baptists, and Baptists become Second Adventists, and New England Christians become followers of Joe Smith, is it enough to fill us with amazement or terror, as if our faith had no power over the heart, that here and there a Unitarian becomes Orthodox? When we consider the pains that are taken, the visits that are made, the books that are lent, the tracts that are left, the stories that are told, the things that are said and done by men and women, by ministers who are so positive that few dare to contradict them, and by misses whose zeal is so amiable that some are unwilling to give it

the pain of disappointment, we only wonder that conversions from us are so infrequent, and conversions to us so voluntary. To regard the changes of opinion which occasionally occur as proofs either of the weakness or the strength of a sect, is to establish one of the most fallacious of all principles of judgment.

We do not attach very great value, on the other hand, to the amount of secret Unitarianism which we are often told exists in the bosom of Orthodox communities and Orthodox churches. It may exist there, although, if it be secret, we have always wondered how any one knew its amount; and have also been ready to ask, what it is worth to us or to the cause of truth while it remains in secrecy. We do not however believe that there is any considerable prevalence of Unitarian opinion in the dominant sects around us. There is too much ignorance about our views of religion to allow this to be possible. We know that a more liberal tone has been given to theological speculation by some of the eminent scholars of this branch of the Church, and we presume that on the whole the tendency is towards a sounder interpretation of the Bible. But with other members of the same Communion we have seen an exasperation of their regard for the creeds and catechisms, the dogmas and phrases of primitive Calvinism, and which party will secure the more powerful influence does not seem to us so clear as to some of our friends. However this avowed difference shall end, the unseen and unknown vein of Unitarian sentiment which is described as running through the Orthodox Church, we suspect, will never yield much valuable ore. A great many probably remain in that Church, because they find themselves there, who have no decided religious belief and no strong interest in religious subjects. When they hear one of our preachers or take up one of our books, they are very likely to express an approbation of what they see or hear, because it is rational and intelligible. But we should be reluctant to build our confidence in the spread of a pure doctrine on such men.

Upon one other notion which prevails widely among us we do not agree with some on whose judgment we should generally rely. We fear that there is a great deal of loose declamation about the West. We do not believe that the Western country is all ready to receive the labors of the

Unitarian minister, is waiting only to be gathered like the harvest by the hand of the reaper. We believe there is a great and a glorious opportunity to spread the truth in that part of the country, and we rejoice that any have turned their faces towards that field of labor. We hope they will be followed by others and many others, for they will all find room to work. But they must *work*. A missionary will not find the people eager to build him a church as soon as he proposes to occupy its pulpit. He will encounter unbelief and indifference and worldliness, and false religion and imperfect views of religion, and prejudice and bigotry and hostility. If he will go out prepared to meet these trials, and will not be discouraged by his early experience, he will obtain an audience, a congregation, and an influence that shall reward him for the sacrifice he has made in leaving the home of his youth. But if he enter upon the work with extravagant anticipations, or if we send him thither with erroneous conceptions of the service he must execute, he will probably return in disgust and we shall receive him with coldness. Let us talk about the West at our Anniversaries as if we were speaking of realities, and not of visions.

We need pursue these remarks no farther. It is time they were brought to a close. Our readers will probably admit that we have sought to speak the truth. We have wished to set before them neither too bright nor too dark a picture of our condition. It has its sombre hues. And yet it is prevailingly such as we love to look upon. We do not expect a rapid diffusion of our opinions through the land, but we are confident that their progressive and permanent ascendancy may be secured by a discharge of the duty which we owe to them. Let us as a denomination be faithful to the full extent of our abilities and opportunities, and the truth for which we render thanks in every prayer that goes up from our hearts will have, if not a free, a successful course, and will be glorified by those who now reject it. Three things must we do, three rules must we observe, if we would acquit ourselves of our duty. We must hold our opinions with the grasp of a firm faith, we must maintain and cultivate union among ourselves, and we must show forth the power of our persuasions by their effects upon our characters and lives. E. S. G.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Symbolism: or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evidenced in their Symbolical Writings. By JOHN ADAM MOEHLER, D. D. Translated from the German by James B. Robertson, Esq. New York: 1844. 8vo. pp. 575.

THIS book is a valuable aid to the student of theology, and will not be found an unpalatable drug by any man at all curious in historical or philosophical inquiries. It is written by a free-minded, learned, devout, and by no means irrational Roman Catholic, upon the points at issue between his own and the Protestant doctrines.

Moehler seems to have been the most eminent of modern Catholic theologians in Germany. After filling several posts of honor in Wurtemberg, he accepted a theological chair at Munich, by invitation of the king of Bavaria, in 1835. In 1838 he died, aged forty-two. He left several important works to the public, the most prominent of which were "Unity in the Church, or the Principle of Catholicism," "Athanasius the Great, or the Church in the time of her struggle with Arianism," and the present treatise. The translator deems the "Symbolism" superior to any other work in exhibiting the present relations of the Roman and Protestant Communions. Of course the reader immediately asks wherein it is better than the great Bossuet's "History of the Variations." The reply is, that Moehler gives a more *internal* view, exhibits the doctrines of some more recent denominations, writes with more philosophical depth than the Bishop of Meaux, and above all, without going into the minutiæ of modern Rationalism, yet ever has it in mind, and writes from the stand-point of the present age. Without discussing the whole catalogue of Protestant sects, he treats of Romanism in contrast with the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, and those of the minor denominations, as he calls them, Anabaptists, Quakers, Moravians, Methodists, Swedenborgians, Socinians, Arminians; whereas Bossuet confines his attention to the Lutherans and Calvinists. The points of comparison are as to the Origin of evil, Original Sin, Justification, the Sacraments, the Church. The authorities are given from the various creeds with great fulness, and the reader is thus put in possession of knowledge not elsewhere easily to be acquired with so much exactness. The tone throughout is mild

and candid, although far from lacking in positiveness. The most remarkable feature of the book, to those who read it from our point of view, is its assertion of superior liberality on the part of Catholic doctrine over Protestantism. Moehler almost takes ground with us against Luther and Calvin, as to the free agency and rational power of man and the relation of works to faith. He deems that the moral faculties are impaired by the fall, although by no means so utterly ruined as Luther and Calvin maintained. His view of the moral capacity of the Heathen, and the destiny of those of them who have followed the light they had, leads us surely in one thing to prefer Rome to Geneva.

Of course the Socinians are not spared by his pen, although he seems to consider them very consistent Protestants. Of Unitarian doctrines, as held by us, he seems to have no knowledge. He has some excellent remarks on the Quakers, and offers some suggestions to the followers of Swedenborg that must somewhat shake the walls of their New Jerusalem.

The book at once reminds us of a kindred work by an English Churchman, Maurice's "Kingdom of Christ." Maurice is the better artist, although we should deem Moehler the deeper theologian. Yet both the Englishman and the German are to be regarded as among the fairest and most instructive writers of the age. Maurice is evidently driving very hard against the Romanist, whilst Moehler has very little to say about the English Church, and probably did not know much about the present school of Anglo-Catholics. The new movement in England had not made much progress when he wrote, nor had William Palmer, the Oxford historian, as yet proclaimed, "I should like to see the Patriarch of Constantinople and our Archbishop of Canterbury go barefoot to Rome, throw their arms round the Pope, kiss him, and not let him go till they had persuaded him to be more reasonable." We are inclined to think the embrace would be a very long one, before much effect would be produced upon the venerable father in the Vatican. Surely appearances indicate that the successor of Augustin would be called upon to make more concessions than the successor of St. Peter, and that England will become Romish quite as soon as Rome will become Anglican. All Maurice's labor and philosophising have not convinced us that Roman Catholics are less reasonable than "Anglo-Catholics."

"Two systems of doctrine," says Dr. Pusey, "have now, and probably for the last time, met in conflict; the system of Geneva and the Catholic system." True it is, that Prelacy and Calvinism are beginning to fight all over Christendom. Our place is with neither; neither with a Church under the rule of Bishops, nor with one under the rule of Calvin's dogmas. From the pre-

late's mitre and the dogmatist's pentagon, good Providence save us, and lead us in simplicity to him who is "the way, the truth and the life." The mitre is quite as easy as the five-pointed creed. O.

Human Nature. A Philosophical Exposition of the Divine Institution of Reward and Punishment, which obtains in the Physical, Intellectual and Moral Constitution of Man; with an Introductory Essay. To which is added a Series of Ethical Observations, written during the perusal of the Rev. James Martineau's "Endeavors after the Christian Life." London. 1844. 12mo. pp. 91.

As is intimated in the title-page, we are indebted for this "Philosophical Exposition," and the "Essay" and "Observations" which accompany it, to the volume of sermons by Mr. Martineau, noticed in the last number but one of this journal. The "Introductory Essay" is a little too transcendental for us. Certain we are that the following summing up of the doctrine will not "amaze" the reader, by its "manifest clearness and simplicity."

"God is infinite in *being*, hence he is infinite in wisdom and power, therefore infinite in happiness, for *being* is the antecedent and originator of these.

The greatest characteristic of a genuine, comprehensive science of human nature — of TRUE RELIGION, is the recognition that *being* is the greatest good, it is the one and only source whence happiness is derived, it is the designer and executor of everything which exists.

When man shall become livingly conscious of this great principle, when he shall appreciate and realize its full significance and applicability, then will the vastness and sublime propriety of Christ's declaration appear, 'the kingdom of God is within you;' then all divisions amongst mankind shall cease, all disputation and strife shall be forgotten; the innumerable sects and parties that perplex and confuse themselves with questions concerning Heaven and Hell, Reward and Punishment, Right and Wrong, now seemingly so mysterious and obscure, will discover and be *amazed at their manifest clearness and simplicity, and the extreme facility of their solution!*"

The "Exposition of the Divine Institution of Reward and Punishment" is better, as it gives illustrations, some of them happy, of the *uses* of pain, considered as announcing the presence or the approach of evil in the moral as well as in the physical constitution of man. But the writer has allowed himself to be betrayed into the vice of exaggeration, so common among theorists at the present day; and made a really important truth to assume the form of extravagance and paradox. All will agree, we suppose, that the pains of conscience are intended to give warning *to those who will take it;* and again, that moral

insensibility, a paralysis of the soul, is part of the sinner's doom, *in this world.* But when we are told, that "man's greatest absolute evil consists in an *unconscious* decrease and retrogression of being towards negation" (p. 31); that remorse "is not, strictly speaking, the punisher of sin, but the indicator of its presence;" and that the only "true and ever enduring punishment of moral transgressions, is decrease of vitality in the faculties of the moral nature" (p. 44); most persons will demur. Most persons will still believe that it is possible to conceive of one thing worse than annihilation; to wit, continued and unending existence in misery: and again, that remorse may be justly regarded as an evil and a punishment as far as it goes, though, in some cases, the means of preventing a worse evil and a worse punishment. It is plain that this writer often confounds susceptibility of remorse, which is the consequence of what God has done, with remorse itself, which is the consequence of what man has done.

The "Ethical Observations" are short comments on different passages in Mr. Martineau's Discourses, originally written on the margins of that book; and there they might have remained without material loss to the public. W.

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1. *The Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, written specially for Children and Youth.* Boston: S. G. Simpkins. 1844. 12mo. pp. 160.

2. *Sketches from the Life of Christ.* By Mrs. H. V. CHENEY, Author of "A Peep at the Pilgrims," "Village Sketches," etc. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 147.

THE first of these is a reprint of an English work, a fact which should have been announced in connection with its title. The incidents in the life of the Saviour are well enough arranged, and in this its merit consists, rather than in its power to affect the feelings and reach the fountains of spiritual life in the soul. It has little warmth or coloring of style or sentiment, and consists too much in a bare detail of facts and incidents to satisfy us; though there may be those who will not object to this feature of the work. Faults of taste, too, we think occasionally occur in it. Yet we are not disposed to criticise the production with severity. It is designed chiefly for the young, and if it succeeds in interesting them, may be found useful. We hope, however, that it will not be allowed to take the place of a work with a similar title by the late Rev. H. Ware, jr.

Mrs. Cheney's book is what it professes to be, "sketches" from the life of Christ, and not a continuous history. It was commenced, the author tells us, for the use of her "own family," and aims

less at originality than impression. Yet it is quite as original as works of this kind usually are. The subjects selected are not treated in any dry, formal way, but a few incidents are related and the words of the Saviour are given, when required, in an easy and flowing narrative. The style is occasionally a little ambitious, but it is lively and graceful, and the volume is pervaded by pure sentiment and a serious and devout spirit. The writer, in a few instances, puts little speeches into the mouths of some of her personages, as those of Joseph and Mary, perhaps once or twice in questionable taste, but the character of the Saviour himself is everywhere allowed to stand out in its original, simple truth, majesty and loveliness, and the book may with safety, and we think, with advantage, be put into the hands of the young, as one combining the qualities of attractiveness and utility. L.

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1. *Memoir of Miss Elizabeth Carter: illustrating the Union of Learning and Piety.* By the Author of "Miriam" and "Joanna of Naples." Boston: T. H. Carter & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 68.

2. *The Cross and Anchor; written for the Fair in aid of the Mariners' Church, Providence, R. I., April,* 1844. By Mrs. Edward B. Hall. Providence. 1844. 32mo. pp. 31.

As these publications are both by the same author, we shall notice them together, though the subjects to which they relate are somewhat different. The smaller of the two, which contains what the writer modestly calls "trifles," is well adapted to the purpose for which it was written, — to aid the cause of temperance, and the reformation of seamen. We cannot say that all the pieces, which compose the volume, possess any high order of poetic merit. Nor did the occasion require it. There are, however, two pieces which are an exception to this remark. We refer to the "Pearl Diver's Song," and the concluding piece entitled "On, forever."

The pleasure afforded us by the delightful little biography of Miss Carter is diminished only by the regret, awakened by the fact stated in the preface, that the writer, having originally intended it to be one of a series to be entitled "Biographical Sketches of six distinguished English ladies of the last century," has found herself compelled to relinquish her plan. Of these Sketches, that now before us is the only one which has been executed, and this was prepared some years ago. The name of Miss Carter, we suppose, is not very familiar to the readers of the fashionable literature of the day; yet she was one of the little constellation of female writers of the last century, who merited all the praise she ever received, and that was not

slight; one to whom Johnson, whose society she enjoyed, was never rude; who associated with Butler, and Richardson, Mrs. Montague, and "others of the wisest and best whom England could produce;" the translator of Epictetus; the mistress of we know not how many different languages, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, and Arabic, — at a time, too, when to acquire a knowledge of some of them was far more difficult and implied much greater distinction than at present; and what is more important than all, a devout and humble Christian, amiable, pure-minded, attentive to common cares, to the duties of friendship, and the claims of the domestic circle. A contemporary of the writers of the old school of fiction and poetry, of the days of Mrs. Radcliffe, of Richardson, and Pope, she lived to witness the change which came over the spirit of literature early in the present century, and bore testimony to its pure tendency. She died in 1806, in the 89th year of her age. Mrs. Hall's sketch professes to be only a slight one. It is well executed however, in good taste, and without lavish praise; and at the present day, when so many books of a worthless character, and worse than worthless, are thrown out upon the public and read, we cannot but regard such a volume, small and unpretending as it is, as a most welcome gift. L.

The Scenery-Shower, with Word-Paintings of the Beautiful, the Picturesque, and the Grand in Nature. By WARREN BURTON, Author of "The District School as it was." Boston: Wm. D. Ticknor & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 119.

THERE is a little tinge of romance in this volume, without doubt. Some persons may pronounce the expressions occasionally rather too high-flown, and think that the author deals quite enough in exclamation, and throws about his fine epithets with a sufficiently lavish hand; but we can easily pardon his raptures, in which there really seems to be nothing of affectation, but all is true, genuine feeling. The tendency of his mind, perhaps, is to dwell on mere material beauty rather than on associated qualities and emotions. Yet if his book has the effect, as we think it must have, of leading to a habit of observation, it will accomplish a valuable object. Mr. Burton does not attempt to reason, but so to paint nature as to awaken attention and excite to observation. From what we have said, it will be inferred that so far as he accomplishes this, we believe him to be a benefactor to the public, and especially to the youth of our land. And such is our opinion; and notwithstanding some little peculiarities, and especially some quaintnesses of expression found in the volume and a slight ambiguity in part of its title, which, after

all, will prove no great drawback to the pleasure of its perusal, we cordially recommend it as well worthy of being read. L.

Sweet Auburn, and Mount Auburn, with other Poems. By Caroline F. Orne. Cambridge: John Owen. 1844. 16mo. pp. 196.

We can hardly find it in our hearts, and yet our consciences require us, to do the duty of an "Examiner" to these Poems. Poems we call them, though really almost their only claim to the title, ποιήματα, consists in their being *made*. We are sorry to have to speak thus. We are confident that we opened this beautifully printed volume with the kindest prepossessions toward the writer; but we must say that she seems to us to take a low place, in point of poetry, in that class of which Alonzo Lewis, perhaps, stands at the head. It appears to us that she labors under a radical error as to the difference between poetry and prose. Sometimes we seem to be looking at Wordsworth's carpet, wrong side upward, and then, ever and anon, we seem to catch a glimpse, through some accidental rent, of a patch of the true side. The "Mount Auburn," in many parts, strikes us as a feeble translation of the rhythmical prose of Judge Story's beautiful Consecration Address, into prosy blank rhythm. The snatches of eulogy on the distinguished dead, and on some whom it had been more delicate for the author not to have paraded thus, (to say nothing of the notices of the living,) are, most of them, seriously defective and in bad taste. We are faintly comforted by having to except from our sweeping severity three pieces, — "The Lady Arabella," "The Removal of Napoleon's Remains," and "Time, the Hunter." The last of these, though it reminds us vividly of a German song, "The Mightiest Hunter of all is Death," is, we suppose, original, and has a good deal of the spirit and style of Barry Cornwall. We beg the author to forgive us for saying, in conclusion, that we cannot encourage with our approval, (so far as it may go,) the publication of such feeble strains as these. We fear that the lyre which "Mount Auburn" and "Sweet Auburn" cannot awaken, must hang awhile longer on the willows. We shall be as ready as any to catch the first murmur of the poetic breeze through its strings. B.

Stories for Children, intended as Hints to Parents. By Mrs. R. J. Cleveland. Boston: William Crosby. 1844. 12mo. pp. 191.

This is in part a republication, six of the eight "stories," of which the volume is composed, having been already before the public. They have however been long out of print. They

are here collected into one volume, and two new pieces are added. "They now," says the advertisement prefixed to the volume, "constitute a series of stories for children from two or three to ten or twelve years of age." Their republication will be hailed with gratitude by those who are acquainted with their merits. They were universally regarded at the time as among the best books for children, and in truth, simplicity, correctness of sentiment, and pleasant and impressive method, they are surpassed by few, if any, which have been published since. Little Wentworth's Morning Lesson; Little Susan taught to Pray; Week Days and Sunday; Little Emery's Sunday Lesson; The Little Boy who minded Trifles; Little John convinced of the uses of Learning; True Parental Love; and Fruits and Flowers, are the titles of the stories, some of which will call up pleasant remembrances of other days, and constitute a sufficient letter of recommendation to the volume. L.

Two Sermons, delivered before the Second Church and Society, Sunday, March 10, 1844, *on the Occasion of taking down their Ancient Place of Worship.* By their Minister, CHANDLER ROBBINS. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 77.

IT is a melancholy business — the taking down of these old edifices which link the mind with the past, and Mr. Robbins has done full justice to the feelings with which the work of demolition must be commenced. The venerable pile had stood a hundred and twenty-three years, and was the oldest temple of worship in the city of Boston. The difficulties which led to the building of the house, and the circumstances of its erection are related by Mr. Robbins; its original appearance, and the mode then prevalent of conducting the services of public worship, very different from the present, are described; the history and character of its Pastors are given, — Waldron, Welsteed, Gray, Pemberton, Lathrop, Ware; changes and improvements which from time to time took place are noticed, and the history of the society is brought down to the present day. The copious notes appended to the Sermons contain a body of interesting facts and anecdotes illustrative of the ecclesiastical history of the times. Mr. Robbins labored under the disadvantage of being compelled, during a great portion of the period to which his discourses relate, to glean after the late Rev. Henry Ware Jr., whose two Sermons commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the house were given to the public at the time; but his industry has enabled him to collect much which is worth preserving, and any church may be well satisfied to have two such faithful chroniclers. The parting service was not less beautiful than appropriate. L.

A Discourse on the Principles involved in the Pusey Controversy. By GEORGE W. BURNAP. Baltimore. 1844. 8vo. pp. 24.

LIKE most of Mr. Burnap's performances, this discourse is marked by strong and independent thought. The topics are old and hackneyed, yet he succeeds in investing them with freshness and interest, and into the compass of a few pages has crowded a great deal of solid argument. The discourse contains a clear statement of the nature of the ministry, and a good defence of the freedom of the churches as they were originally constituted. It may not please a Puseyite, nor satisfy those who would exalt sectarian differences above the great essential principles of the Gospel of Jesus, but as the world grows wiser and more thoroughly Christian, these differences will sink in its esteem, and he will be honored as the true disciple of Christ who is led by his spirit. L.

The Annexation of Texas. A Sermon, delivered in the Masonic Temple, on Fast Day. By JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. Boston. 1844. 32mo. pp. 42.

THIS is an earnest, free, and plain discourse on a subject fraught with interest, — the "Annexation of Texas," — a subject on which we believe many of our pulpits uttered their sentiments on the day of the last annual Fast. After stating, at some length, his views of the duty of ministers of the Gospel to speak on "public questions," Mr. Clarke considers the causes which will induce the South to insist on Annexation. These are pecuniary and political advantages, and advantages to the cause of Slavery. He then treats of the evils of Annexation, among which are the strengthening and perpetuating of Slavery, violation of the Constitution, injustice to Mexico, probable war, and a dangerous extension of our territory. The discourse is timely, and we hope will obtain the circulation, to which its merit, the importance of its subject, and the cheap form in which it is issued, fully entitle it. L.

The Position and Prospects of the Medical Student. An Address delivered before the Boylston Medical Society of Harvard University, January 12, 1844. By OLIVER W. HOLMES, M. D. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 28.

THIS Address bears the impress of a well furnished and vigorous mind, deeply imbued, we should say, with the love of science, and attentive especially to its practical applications. It comes from the member of a profession, few of the publications of which have been recorded on our pages, but in the ranks of

which have been found many of the best friends and brightest ornaments of humanity. We have read the pamphlet with no little interest. It takes a rapid survey of recent scientific discoveries which throw light upon the nature and laws of diseased action, or intimately connect themselves with the healing art, — discoveries, says the writer, which place the medical student on a footing very different from that occupied by his predecessors a few years ago. Dr. Holmes is an uncompromising defender of the claims of science in opposition to what he regards, in common with many, as the empiricism, the extravagancies, and the ultra-radicalism of the day; yet he has some animating words to utter to the young student, and bids him "go forward in hope and serene courage." "Go then," says he, "to meet your chosen science, who waits for you like a bride adorned with her ancestral jewels, and crowned with fresh gathered garlands." L.

An Exposition of Facts relating to the Administration of the Hawes Charity, at South Boston. By LEMUEL CAPEN, former Minister of the Hawes Place Society. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 26.

The Reply of the Hawes Place Congregational Society, at South Boston, to a Pamphlet entitled "An Exposition of Facts relating to the Administration of the Hawes Charity, by Lemuel Capen, former Minister of the Hawes Place Society." By a COMMITTEE OF SAID SOCIETY. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 26.

THESE pamphlets relate to a subject upon which it might not become us to express an opinion, as we understand that the main question which is discussed in them has been submitted to the decision of a judicial tribunal. This question concerns the legality of a by-law, regulating the admission of members, which was adopted by the vote of a majority of the Hawes Place Society, but which the minority hold has created a forfeiture of the trust devised by the late Mr. Hawes. Mr. Capen writes with an earnestness betokening sincere conviction and a strong sense of duty, while the Reply is written with a clearness and strength of statement that must produce a favorable impression upon the reader. G.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ministers and Churches. — We still have changes in the ministry to record, occasioned by other circumstances than death.—Rev. Mr. Ingersol, who has long been the devoted and faithful pastor of the Unitarian church in Burlington, Vt., and who of late years has pursued his work under the discouragement of painful disease, has been compelled by its continuance, after every attempt for its mitigation, to resign his charge, and seek renovation of his system in less severe labor. We trust that he has not deferred this step too long for his own recovery. A solitary watchman on one of the extreme positions of our Zion, he has served at his post day and night with an undaunted spirit, and a perseverance which has been rewarded by the prosperity of the congregation over which he was placed. — Rev. Mr. Bulfinch has felt that duty to himself and his family required him to relinquish the pastoral care of the church in Washington, D. C., and has returned to New England. — Rev. Mr. Alger has dissolved his connexion with the society at Chelsea, of which he took charge as successor of the late Dr. Tuckerman. — Rev. Mr. Buckingham of Cabotville, has relinquished his ministry in that place. — Rev. Mr. Cushing of Milwaukie, W. T., has been visited by an illness of such severity as to render him unable to prosecute his work. — Rev. Mr. Barry of Framingham, has been induced by the state of his health to take a year of absence from his people, and has sailed for Europe.

We are gratified by the evidence which our older congregations are giving of interest in the attempts of others to secure the benefit of such religious institutions as they can wholly enjoy. Three applications are at this moment before our community, for aid in the establishment of societies in important positions, where Unitarian preaching is of recent date. Rev. Mr. Harrington is soliciting contributions towards the payment of the amount for which the society at Albany, N. Y. has become responsible by the purchase and repairs of their meeting-house, and has reason to anticipate full success.—Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, Canada, in a visit to the United States, has met with similar encouragement. The congregation of which he is the minister have purchased an eligible site for a church, and have commenced the building, in the hope of finishing it before the next winter. It will be a small, but neat structure. — The Unitarian Society at Hartford, Conn., have also presented their case to the consideration of their friends in other cities. They think it important that they should erect a church which would command attention by its good appearance, and therefore propose to expend a larger sum than is usual at the commencement of such an undertaking. — The new society at Southington, Conn., have completed their house of worship, which will be dedicated in the course of this month. — The Second Church in this city, having removed their ancient meeting-house from the ground which it occupied for more than a century, are vigorously prosecuting the work upon one more suitable to their present wants and tastes. The corner-stone was laid on Thursday

morning, May 30, and the occasion added another to the usual interesting services of the anniversary week. An address was made by Rev. Mr. Robbins, pastor of the church, and prayer offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. — We learn with pleasure that a new society has been formed at Somerville (lately a part of Charlestown,) and has made arrangements for the erection of a meeting-house. — We understand also, that the Congregational Society at Brewster, formerly under the charge of the late Rev. Mr. Simpkins, whose place was filled by a Trinitarian successor, and the "Christian" Society in Fairhaven, are both hearing preachers from our body.

The Anniversaries. — The week on which the anniversaries of the principal religious Associations in the Commonwealth are held in this city, was this year marked by the large attendance of persons from the country, and by the general character of harmony which pervaded the meetings. The weather was propitious, the selection of a day in the course of the week for a "Temperance mass celebration" drew crowds to Boston, and from these causes, and also, as we believe, from an increase of interest in our various religious occasions, the meetings were more fully attended than usual. We can particularly notice only those which belong to our own denomination. Of these we think the anniversary celebration of the Sunday School Society was the most pleasant. The public meeting of the Unitarian Association was good, but not remarkable for the character or interest of its proceedings. The private meeting of this Association for the consideration of resolutions relating to Slavery, though confined to a comparatively small number of persons, was distinguished by the earnest tone of the discussion and the importance of the subject. The "Collation" was a most agreeable and happy renewal of friendly greetings and Christian sympathies. The administration of the Lord's Supper brought together a large body of communicants, as well as others who did not participate in the ordinance, and all of whom must have felt that the length of the services caused the only qualification of much spiritual enjoyment. The Ministerial Conference was, as usual, both pleasant and profitable. And the Prayer and Conference meeting on Thursday morning gave great satisfaction to those who were present. Our record of each of these occasions must necessarily be brief.

The Collation. — On Tuesday, May 28, 1844, the fourth annual festival under this name was held in the extensive rooms over the depot of the Worcester railroad, opposite the United States Hotel. The accommodations for the reception of the company, and for their passage from the apartment in which they spent an hour of cordial recognition to that in which the tables were spread, were superior to what could be furnished last year, and the entertainment, abundant and elegant, yet simple in its character, was arranged to the best advantage for personal comfort and social enjoyment. Eight hundred and sixty tickets, the whole number which the capacity of the hall would allow to be issued, were taken before the hour, and as only a very few of those who held tickets were prevented from attending, nearly every seat was occupied. Of these eight hundred and forty or fifty persons, probably one half were ladies, and one

hundred or more clergymen, who are always invited guests. At two o'clock the company sat down to their repast, after the invocation of the Divine blessing by Rev. Mr. Putnam of Roxbury. Hon. Jonathan Chapman of Boston presided. Thanks having been returned by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston, Mr. Chapman addressed the company for a few minutes in a strain admirably suited to the occasion, and called upon others to follow his remarks with their own. Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Bethel Church in Boston, present by special invitation, Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Whitman of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Thomas, late of Concord, N. H., Hon. John C. Park of Boston, Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips of Salem, Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, L. C., Rev. Mr. Bulfinch, late of Washington, D. C., Rev. Prof. Brooks of Boston, Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, Rev. Mr. Merrick of Walpole, and Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, successively spoke, giving expression to the feelings which the spectacle before them awakened. An original hymn and two original songs were sung by the whole company, in the course of the afternoon. Every thing conspired to render the occasion delightful, and when at six o'clock the President announced that on account of other engagements the company must break up, it was with a universal feeling of satisfaction that they concurred in the appointment of a Committee to make an arrangement for a similar "reunion" next year. — While our limits forbid our giving any report of the speeches, we must make one exception in favor of Mr. Brooks, who embraced this opportunity to deliver a message with which he was entrusted by the Unitarian brethren, in Geneva, Switzerland. "Give them our love," was the language of their cordial sympathy; which, if our words can reach them, we as cordially reciprocate.

The American Unitarian Association. — This body held their nineteenth annual meeting on Tuesday evening, May 28. The usual business was transacted in the Berry Street Vestry. Rev. Dr. Nichols having declined a reelection, Hon. Joseph Story LL. D., of Cambridge, was chosen President; the Vice Presidents of the last year were reelected; and also Rev. Charles Briggs, as General Secretary; Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, Assistant Secretary; Mr. Henry P. Fairbanks, Treasurer; Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey, Rev. George E. Ellis, Rev. Nathaniel Hall, Directors. The public meeting was held in the Federal Street meeting-house, Judge Story presiding. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; after which the President made some remarks suggested by the recurrence of this anniversary. The annual Report was read by Mr. Briggs, and at its conclusion Mr. Lothrop, in behalf of the Executive Committee, offered a series of resolutions, as affording topics on which gentlemen might speak. The first of these resolutions referred to the validity of the great Protestant principles of the sufficiency of the Scriptures and the right of private judgment, the second to the importance and success of missionary efforts, the third to the condition of our brethren in England and other countries of Europe, and the fourth to the bereavements which had fallen upon us within the last year. Addresses were then made upon one or other of these subjects by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford, Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem, Rev. Mr. Whitman of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Robbins of Chelsea, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Dr. Salt-

marsh of Hartford, Conn., Rev. Prof. Brooks of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston. The resolutions were adopted, the Doxology was sung, and the meeting was dissolved at half past ten o'clock. The house was filled through the evening.

At the business meeting previous to the public exercises a resolution was offered by Rev. Mr. May of Leicester, involving an expression of opinion on the subject of Slavery in the United States. As the want of time prevented its consideration then, it was brought before an adjourned meeting of the Association on Wednesday afternoon, and gave rise to an animated discussion, which was interrupted by the hour which called many of the members to the meeting of another body. An adjournment therefore took place till the next afternoon, when the Association met in a larger room, and continued the discussion till they were again obliged by other engagements to adjourn to the next day. On Friday morning a series of resolutions with a preamble was presented by Hon. Mr. Phillips of Salem, and was received as an amendment of Mr. May's resolution. This preamble assigned as the cause for any action on the subject the conduct of the society at Savannah in reference to Rev. Mr. Motte, several months since, and described the circumstances of that case as they were understood by the author of the resolutions; which then expressed, in clear and forcible, but calm language, the opinions entertained by this Association upon the institution of Slavery. A discussion ensued, which, with an adjournment of one hour at noon, was maintained till nine o'clock in the evening, when, after various amendments and additions had been rejected, Mr. Phillips's resolutions with the preamble were adopted by a vote of forty in the affirmative, to fifteen in the negative. These resolutions declare, that "while it is not deemed within the province of this Association, in the course of its ordinary proceedings, to entertain any question or adopt any measure in relation to the institution of Slavery, it is felt to be a duty, under the extraordinary circumstances of the case before us, to deliberate calmly and solemnly upon the subject as thus presented for our consideration, and to declare and record the result of our deliberations"; that in such a step we should "proceed upon Christian principles and in a Christian spirit — 'speaking the truth in love'"; that "viewing the institution of Slavery in the light of Christianity, we cannot fail to perceive that it conflicts with the natural rights of human beings, as the equal children of a common Father, and that it subverts the fundamental principle of Christian brotherhood"; that "in its necessary effects upon the personal and social condition, and upon the moral and religious character of all affected by it," it presents "an accumulation of evils, over which Christianity must weep," and for the removal of which Christians should exert themselves to the utmost; that therefore "it is impossible for this Association to recognize the principle, that in the case of any minister or missionary who may be aided or employed by the Executive Committee, it should be deemed a disqualification for the performance of the appropriate duties of his office in any section of the country, that he is supposed or known to entertain, or to have publicly expressed opinions adverse to the institution of Slavery"; that the Association approve the course pursued by the Executive Committee in regard to Savannah; and that "this expression of views is commended to the serious and candid consideration of those who were the occasion

of its being made, with the assurance that the Association "have at heart the best interests of their brethren, upon whom, as much as upon themselves, rests the responsibility of illustrating the practical tendencies of the precious faith, to which we all owe a common attachment." After the adoption of these resolutions, prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Parkman, and the members of the Association, who had expressed different opinions in regard to the propriety of any action on the subject of Slavery, or in respect to the nature of the action which it might be proper to take, separated with mutual good-will.

Ministerial Conference. — This meeting which has formerly been known under the name of the Berry Street Conference, from the place in which it assembled, having experienced inconvenience from the size of the Vestry in Berry Street, was this year held in a much more commodious room in Phillips Place, Tremont Street. The brethren assembled at 8 o'clock on Wednesday morning, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. Bailey of Medway, listened to the annual Address from Rev. Mr. Robinson of Medfield, upon the alleged defects of Unitarian Preaching. Rev. Dr. Thompson of Barre was then chosen Moderator, and Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, Scribe, in the place of Rev. Mr. Robbins, who declined a reelection. Messrs. Young, Ellis, and Robbins, were appointed the Standing Committee for the year. A question presented by the Committee was then taken up for discussion, concerning the means which the preacher should use to give energy to his own religious convictions and to the convictions of his people. Many of the members of the Conference took part in the discussion, which was continued till noon, when inquiries were made respecting the Reply of the Unitarian ministers in this country to the Letter on Slavery addressed to them by their brethren in England. Some conversation ensued, but no action was taken on the subject. — An adjourned meeting of the Conference was held on Thursday morning, when two or three hours were spent in discussion upon the course which Unitarians should pursue towards other denominations that might be supposed to entertain similar opinions with their own, after which the meeting was adjourned to the next year.

Sunday School Society. — The sixteenth anniversary of this Association was celebrated on Wednesday evening, in the Federal Street meetinghouse; the President, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth; Rev. Mr. Waterston, the Corresponding Secretary, read portions of the annual Report, containing extracts from letters of superintendents of schools connected with the Society, and from the foreign correspondence. Remarks were then made by Hon. Mr. Phillips, Rev. Mr. Fosdick of Sterling, Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, R. I., Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Harrington of Providence, R. I., Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, L. C., and Rev. Mr. Waterston. Various topics were presented by the speakers, but all of them had an immediate relation to the interests of the Sunday school. Between the addresses the children of different schools, who occupied the front seats of the galleries, sang appropriate hymns. The house was filled in every part. The meeting closed at 10 o'clock.

Conference and Prayer Meeting. — A meeting of this character, attended by many of both the clergy and laity, was held on Thursday

morning in Ritchie Hall, which was entirely filled. Remarks suited to such an occasion were made by several persons, which, with singing and prayer, occupied a large part of the forenoon. It was resolved, at the close, to hold a similar meeting on both Wednesday and Thursday morning of the anniversary week next year.

The Lord's Supper. — The administration of this rite was attended by a large number of communicants, in the Federal Street church, on Thursday evening. A sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; after which the services at the table were conducted by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge, and Rev. Mr. Bulfinch from Washington, D. C.

Massachusetts Bible Society. — This Society, which includes among its subscribers and officers members of different religious denominations, celebrated this year its thirty-fifth anniversary, in the Winter Street church. Rev. John Peirce D. D. of Brookline was reelected President; Rev. John Codman D. D. of Dorchester, chosen Vice President; Rev. Francis Parkman D. D. of Boston, Corresponding Secretary; and Rev. William M. Rogers of Boston, Recording Secretary. At the public meeting addresses were made by Rev. Messrs. Choules of Roxbury, Waterston, and Butler, of Boston, and Vermilye of New York. The meeting was well attended.

American Peace Society. — This Society also, is confined to no religious denomination. Its sixteenth anniversary was celebrated by a public meeting in the Winter Street church, when prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Rogers of Boston, the annual Report was read by Rev. Mr. Beckwith, and an Address, on the character and evils of War, was delivered by Walter Channing M. D. of Boston. The Society reelected Samuel E. Coues Esq. of Portsmouth, N. H., President; Rev. George C. Beckwith, Corresponding Secretary; Mr. Joshua P. Blanchard, General Agent and Treasurer; and Mr. James L. Baker, Recording Secretary. The proceeds of the liberal bequest made by the late Mr. Ladd, former President of the Society, will, it is hoped, become available in the course of the present year.

Prison Discipline Society. — This Society, though in a measure subject to the charge of sectarian control, is sustained by persons of various religious persuasions. At its nineteenth anniversary, attended in the Park Street meetinghouse, Rev. Francis Wayland D. D., of Brown University, presided. Rev. Louis Dwight, to whom the Society is indebted for its existence and its whole efficiency, read extracts from the annual Report; after which addresses were made by Samuel Greele Esq., and Rev. Mr. Waterston, of Boston, Rev. Mr. Holland of Rochester, N. Y., Hon. Horace Mann, and Rev. Dr. Jenks, of Boston. The anniversary of this Society is always an occasion of interest.

Massachusetts Convention. — The Convention of Congregational Ministers of this Commonwealth, including both the Trinitarian and the Unitarian clergy of the Congregational order, met, according to immemorial usage, on the last Wednesday of May. Rev. Dr. Dana, the preacher of the year, presided. Rev. Mr. Adams of Boston was reelected Scribe, and Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, Treasurer. Rev. Dr. Hopkins, of Williams College, being the first preacher for the next year, according to the choice made a year ago, Rev. Alvan Lamson D. D. of Dedham was chosen second preacher. On Thursday, the

Convention met in the Brattle Street church, where the annual Sermon was delivered by Rev. Daniel Dana D. D. of Newburyport, on the Necessity of holiness in the ministry. The attendance and collection were both small, probably on account of the celebration which we have next to notice.

Temperance Celebration. — On Thursday, May 30, a "Temperance Mass Meeting" was held on Boston Common. A large number of Temperance Societies from the country united with the various Temperance Associations of the city and swelled the procession, which passed through our principal streets, composed of both men and children, Protestants and Catholics, to the number of many thousands. They were addressed by Governor Briggs, and others, and adopted resolutions in favor of the "Washingtonian" movement. In the evening other addresses were made to a crowded audience at the Tremont Temple.

Missionary Fund. — It is now two years since a proposal was made to raise $10,000 annually among our churches for missionary purposes, in addition to what was contributed through our various benevolent societies. After some consultation among individuals a public meeting was held in Boston, and continued by adjournment, till a plan of operations was matured. A large Committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for a term of five years. This Committee issued circulars and adopted the necessary measures for executing the service laid upon them. They began their collection of the amount specified in the spring of 1843, but as it was determined that the annual organization of the Committee for the purposes contemplated in its appointment should take place in June of each year, it was thought best that the first financial year should extend to the close of May, 1844. At the public meeting of the American Unitarian Association on the 28th of last May, the Treasurer of this Committee, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, for the satisfaction of the audience, made a statement, from which it appeared that the sum of $10,092 had been received, and had been paid, partly according to the directions of those by whom it was contributed, and partly, where no specific directions were given, according to the judgment of the Sub-Committee to whom this branch of the duty of the larger Committee was necessarily delegated; the whole amount, with the exception of incidental expenses, having been thus divided between the American Unitarian Association, the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education, and the Evangelical Missionary Society. At the first annual meeting of the Committee, June 11, 1844, H. B. Rogers Esq. was chosen Chairman; Mr. R. W. Bayley, Secretary; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, Treasurer; and Messrs. Albert Fearing, N. A. Barrett, Rev. J. F. Clarke, Rev. S. K. Lothrop, Messrs. L. G. Pray, George Callender, Abiel Chandler, and N. H. Emmons, Executive Committee for the next year. This Committee were authorized to appoint an agent, whose business it should be to solicit and collect subscriptions to the Missionary Fund.

Fairs. — Unexpected success has attended the recent attempts in this neighborhood to raise money for missionary objects by Fairs, conducted by ladies. The amount obtained in each instance has

exceeded the most sanguine hopes. The ladies of the First Church and Society in Roxbury made preparations for a breakfast and fair on May day, which, as the weather was unusually favorable, (reminding us of the first of May in Old rather than in New England,) was attended by a large number of persons from Boston. The proceeds were $1,940, which have been paid to the Treasurer of the Missionary Fund, subject to the condition of appropriation to certain specified objects. A similar fair was held by the ladies of the First Parish in Dorchester on the 20th of May, which, though less productive, satisfied the expectations of those with whom it originated. The ladies of the First Society in Medford were encouraged by such examples to make preparations for a breakfast and fair on the 12th of June, from which were realized $1,500, most of which has been appropriated to the support of new churches at the West. The ladies belonging to the Unitarian congregations in Salem have made arrangements for a festival of the same kind the next autumn, when they hope to rival by the display of fruits the exhibition of floral beauty which was seen in the halls at Medford. In Grafton and Billerica we notice that fairs have been held for local purposes, and we understand that the ladies of one of the societies in this city contemplate adopting the same method of procuring funds for the enlargement of the vestry connected with their church. It is certainly a very pleasant, and has proved a successful way of raising money for religious uses; but we hope it will not be made a reason or an apology for lessening the amount of direct subscription for objects of this nature.

Dudleian Lecture.—The annual Lecture, established by the will of Hon. Paul Dudley, in his bequest to Harvard College, was delivered in the chapel of the University on Wednesday, May 8, 1844, by Rev. Barnas Sears D. D., of the Baptist Theological Institution at Newton. The subject this year, as determined by the conditions of the legacy, which assign the four subjects to be successively treated, was "the confirmation, illustration, and improvement, of the great articles of the Christian Religion." Under this broad head, Professor Sears selected particularly a consideration of the progress which had been made in settling the important questions that have arisen concerning the validity of the claims presented by Christianity. These questions, he showed, might now be considered as no longer opening a field for discussion. The Dudleian Lectures "commenced in 1775, and have since been annually continued without intermission."

Ordinations.—Mr. SAMUEL PETTES jr., of Boston, a graduate of the Divinity School, was ordained Pastor of the First Congregational Society in Sharon, Mass, May 8, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from Luke xxiv. 21; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Huntoon of Canton; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Smith of Boston; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Merrick of Walpole, Robinson of Medfield, and White of Dedham.

Mr. GEORGE W. LIPPITT, of Providence, R. I., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the Hawes Place

Congregational Church and Society in South Boston, Mass., May 9, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, from 1 Timothy iv. 16; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Francis of Cambridge; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Northampton; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Osgood of Providence, and Huntington and Coolidge of Boston.

Mr. John S. Brown, was ordained over the Unitarian Congregational Society in Fitzwilliam, N. H., June 12, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt., from 2 Timothy iv. 5; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Harding of New Salem, Mass.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, Mass.; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Livermore of Keene, N. H.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Morison of New Bedford, Mass.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Smith of Warwick, Mass., Willis of Walpole, N. H., and Sanderson of Troy, N. H.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

New Works. — Since our last publication the third volume of Livermore's Commentary on the New Testament, containing the Notes on Acts, has appeared. We hope to give it a proper notice in our next number.—The "Memoirs of Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D.," commenced by the late Dr. Ware, and completed by Rev. Samuel Worcester, which we mentioned in our first number, has been published.—We cannot refrain from noticing a volume, which, although "printed for private distribution," we hope will find its way into many hands, — "A Selection from the writings of Henry R. Cleveland, with a Memoir by George S. Hillard." It is at once a beautiful memorial of one whose virtues mingled sweetly with his accomplishments, and a valuable contribution to our American literature. — Many of our readers will welcome the appearance of a work just published, —"Summer on the Lakes, in 1843, by Miss S. M. Fuller."

Our booksellers do not seem to be very busy at the present moment in the publication of new books. William Crosby proposes to issue a volume of Sermons on Christian Truth and Duty, selected by a Committee of the Union Pastoral Association from the manuscripts of the late Rev. George W. Wells, of Groton, Mass.; to which will be prefixed a memoir of Mr. Wells, by Rev. C. A. Bartol. — Little & Brown announce as in preparation, "The Chronicles of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the origin of the Colony in 1628. Now first collected from original records and unpublished manuscripts, and illustrated with notes. By Alexander Young." This work will be published in the same style with Mr. Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth," of which a second edition has just appeared. — James Munroe & Co. have in press a second edition of Mr. Peabody's Discourses on Christian Doctrine, in which will be found an additional discourse upon proper views of the Scriptures.—The same house will also publish within a short time a second edition of the Life of Oberlin, to which the late Dr. Ware Jr. prefixed an introduction from his own pen. — The second volume of Mr. Sparks's new series of American Biography, published

by Little & Brown, will contain the lives of James Otis and Gen. Oglethorpe.

We ought not to omit to mention the establishment in this city of a weekly publication, which we should be glad to see supplant the miserable *stuff* that our "periodical depots" furnish to the mass of readers. We refer to "Littell's Living Age," published every Saturday, at 12 1-2 cents for each number of 64 pages large octavo, well printed. It is composed of selections from the best foreign periodical literature, and resembles in its plan the "Museum of Foreign Literature," issued for many years by Littell in Philadelphia. As it will contain solid articles from the prominent English Reviews, as well as lighter selections, we hope it will receive encouragement.

Massachusetts Board of Education.—One of the most surprising examples of religious bigotry which have of late appeared among us has been given in the columns of an Episcopalian paper, issued in this city, the editor of which has lent his journal to an attack upon the Board of Education and the gentleman who fills the office of Secretary to the Board, and who in this capacity has done so much for the Common Schools of the State. The scrupulous care which Mr. Mann and the Board have taken to exclude sectarian instruction from the schools is made the ground of a charge too ridiculous to be noticed, if it were not for its gross injustice and mischievous design. This charge is nothing less than the imputation of a purpose to convert our schools into institutions for the propagation of infidelity. Mr. Mann in a series of communications to the public press has triumphantly vindicated himself and the Board, and driven his assailant to an acknowledgment that the exclusion of sectarian teaching from the schools was the sole ground of his hostility. He, forsooth! would make our common schools nurseries of theological dogmatism. The calm contempt which such a proposal deserves, however covertly insinuated or boldly advanced, is the fittest rebuke which it can receive. Still let the people of the Commonwealth, having discovered that such a scheme has supporters in one of the prominent religious sects, be watchful in guarding their own and their children's inheritance.

OBITUARY.

CHARLES BULFINCH Esq. died at Boston, Mass., April 15, 1844, aged 81 years. Mr. Bulfinch was a native of this city, where he spent the greater part of his life. He here filled various municipal offices, and enjoyed the respect and confidence of all his fellow-citizens. Soon after the last war with Great Britain, he removed to Washington, D. C., where he was employed as architect of the public buildings, and where he became a most valuable member of the Unitarian society in that place. About ten years since he returned to his native city, and resumed his attendance upon the King's Chapel, of which he had formerly been a prominent member. His life though active, was peaceful, and he has left a name that will be remembered with tender respect. G.

JAMES TAYLOR Esq. died at Philadelphia, Penn., April 30, 1844, aged 76 years. Mr. Taylor was a native of Scotland, but had long

resided in Philadelphia, where he was widely known and universally esteemed. For a considerable period after the formation of the Unitarian society in that city, Mr. Taylor conducted the services of the church on the Lord's day, in connexion with the late Ralph Eddowes and John Vaughan — honored names! For a time, the whole charge of the pulpit rested with him. Mr. Taylor was, as a Unitarian Christian, equally decided and intelligent. His erect form and courteous dignity seemed to indicate the integrity of the spirit to which cowardice and equivocation, hatred and malice, were alike unknown. He enjoyed a green old age. e.

James Thacher, M. D. died at Plymouth, Mass., May 23, 1844, aged 90 years. Dr. Thacher was distinguished in his profession both as a practitioner and writer. His fondness for antiquarian inquiries, with his veneration for the Pilgrim Fathers, made him familiar with the early history of Plymouth, and of the fruits of his historical zeal the public, as well as the citizens of that place, enjoyed the benefit. But he was, perhaps, best known beyond the circle of immediate friends by his "Journal" of the revolutionary war, during which he held the appointment of surgeon in the army under Washington. He was distinguished by simplicity of character, an activity of mind which extreme age could not abate, and an anxious desire to make himself useful to his fellow-men. He was a sincere and exemplary Christian, and both the church and the town to which he belonged lost by his death one whom they delighted to honor. e.

LETTER FROM W. B. CARPENTER, M. D.

We omit our usual department of Miscellaneous Intelligence and give place to the following letter, from an English friend, addressed to one of the editors of this journal, because it is, with perhaps the exception of the concluding sentence, written in a courteous style and kind spirit. The author makes a direct request for its publication, which we are not disposed to deny, but with which we should have more cheerfully complied, if he had not committed the indecorum, as we view it, of printing in an English journal a communication privately sent to us, before he could know our decision upon its appearance in the Examiner. Though we have no objection to inserting articles presenting different views of subjects, we should, as a general rule, decline the publication of direct replies to articles that may have appeared in our pages; but in this instance, our regard for the writer and the character of the letter induce us to give it the earliest insertion in our power. — [Eds. Christ. Exam. and Rel. Misc.]

Bristol, April 3, 1844.

My Dear Sir: — In common with very many others on this side of the Atlantic, I have read with much interest the eloquent article in defence of "American Morals and Manners" in a late number of the Christian Examiner, and I hope that it will contribute to diffuse in this country juster views on the great questions it discusses. It is because I am most anxious that the authority of its distinguished author, and of your most valuable journal, should not be lent to what I deem a serious and most pernicious error, that I venture to address

you in reference to *one sentence* in the portion of the article which relates to the much-vexed question of Slavery. That this is a most difficult question, I fully admit. That we, on this side of the water, are but very imperfectly acquainted with the number and extent of the difficulties which environ it, I am very well aware. And on this account I forbear any comments upon the mode in which the general subject is handled; and confine myself to a single point on which I feel entitled to speak with something like confidence, — in the hope of doing somewhat to clear away one, at least, of the difficulties, which (as it appears to me) have been unnecessarily raised up.

The point to which I allude is comprised in the following sentence; in which the colored population is said to be "scattered among us, and yet separated from us by impassable physical if not mental barriers; refused intermarriage, refused intercourse as equals, be it ever so unjustly;" — to which the writer adds, — "how are they ever to rise?" Now I shall endeavor to demonstrate, that this statement is neither scientifically nor historically true; and I shall endeavor to answer the question, "how are they ever to rise," by reference to certain well-known facts of recent occurrence in the British West India islands. In regard to my competence to speak on this subject I may simply say, that I believe my name to be now well-known in the United States as a physiologist, and that I have therefore some right to offer an opinion upon the *scientific* part of the question; and that I feel qualified, by a residence in the West Indies previously to the Emancipation Act, and by frequent opportunities I have since enjoyed, of knowing the subsequent progress of society in those colonies, to speak with some confidence as to the *practical* portion of the subject. I may further say, that I am not ignorant of what is urged in the United States on these matters; having conversed with many benevolent and enlightened Americans on the questions I am now to discuss, and become fully acquainted with their feelings, and with what I must call their prejudices. Among these I may mention, as one of the first, the universally respected Tuckerman; and as one of the last, the author of the article now under consideration. The former candidly admitted, on leaving England, that his feelings on the subject of the colored races had been very much changed by his residence here; and I had hoped that the views of the latter might have been in some degree modified by the statements which were made to him by myself and others.

The colored races cannot be separated from the white, by "impassable physical and mental barriers," if their origin is the same, and if one is capable of exhibiting the characters of the other. You must be well aware that the question of the unity of the species of the different races of man has been most ably treated by my learned fellow-townsman, Dr. Prichard; who is now engaged upon the continuation of a new edition of his celebrated work on the "Physical History of Mankind;" after having digressed for a time, to produce a smaller work entitled the "Natural History of Mankind," which contains a general summary of his arguments and results. These I have frequently and attentively considered; and I cannot entertain a shade of doubt as to the correctness of the position he takes; which is simply this, — that there are no *definite* and *constant* anatomical or physiological differences between the different races of man, which can justify the belief that they are to be regarded as distinct species; that

we are therefore to refer them all to a common stock; and to look to various external circumstances (such as those which have produced the various breeds of our domesticated races) as the cause of the diversities. As a physiologist and a naturalist, I do not hesitate to say, that the unprejudiced application of the principles which are fully recognized in other branches of Natural History, to this question, can lead to no other conclusion. It is well known that, among the various tribes of animals, there are some whose constitutions have not the power of adapting themselves to external circumstances; and whose distribution on the surface of the earth is consequently limited, their zoological characters being extremely constant; whilst there are others, (in which category rank all our domesticated races, and many more that might be domesticated,) which possess this power of adaptation in a remarkable degree, and are consequently diffused widely over the globe, their zoological characters at the same time exhibiting great variations. Now of this last class, man unquestionably stands first, the dog probably next, and then our horses, sheep, and cattle. Will any one affirm that there is more difference between a Negro and a Caucasian, than between a greyhound and a mastiff; or that the education which, continued through a succession of generations, developes certain faculties and habits in the dog, shall be less effectual in man? It is perfectly true that, on looking at a Guinea-Coast Negro and an intelligent Englishman or American, side by side, the distinctions do appear definite enough; but let any one candidly read Dr. Prichard's account of the nations inhabiting Africa, and see how closely those of undoubted Caucasian descent approximate to the highest of the Negro stock (being often indeed surpassed by them), — and I am much mistaken if he will then affirm that such impassable barriers exist. The fact appears to me to be, that whilst the Caucasian races as a whole have vastly improved upon the original type, the Negro races have, taken as a whole, retrograded from it; but I cannot see the least valid reason for supposing that time and favorable external circumstances would fail to do that for *them*, which it has done for other races. Similar instances of degradation, though not to the same extent, are quoted by Dr. Prichard as having presented themselves among the Caucasian races, and are obviously attributable to the influence of external conditions, operating from generation to generation. I recollect being asked by Dr. Tuckerman, whether I thought that twelve black children, taken from their parents at a year old, and brought up with twelve white children of the same age, would show an equality of mental power with the latter; to which I answered, "Certainly not; but if the descendants of those black children were treated in the same manner for several generations, I have no doubt that this equality would result." A difference at least equal would be found, I am confident, between twelve children of uneducated European parents, and twelve children of families whose minds had been progressively improved by centuries of instruction. For I do not think that there is a physiological fact better established, than the transmissibility, from parent to offspring, of *acquired peculiarities*, whether physical or mental, within certain limitations. I may appear to dogmatize on this subject; but the evidence in support of my statements would be too long to adduce in this letter; and it is accessible to those who wish to go into the question, in the works I have mentioned. I may

also refer to two most valuable papers by the late Mr. Knight (the President of the Horticultural Society) containing the result of his observations on the transmission of acquired peculiarities in animals and vegetables, prolonged through nearly three quarters of a century; these are contained in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1813 and 1837.

But what are these "impassable physical barriers"? I have heard of but two strongly insisted on; and these I shall try to remove. There can be no indelicacy, it seems to me, in speaking plainly on subjects which concern the welfare of millions of our fellow-creatures; and I shall therefore enter upon them without reserve. The first is, the odor exhaled from the skin of the Negro, which renders his contiguity unpleasant. This is given as a reason for excluding him (even if otherwise well qualified) from society; for assigning to him a separate place in the house of prayer; and for keeping him in a position of continued degradation. Now it is very well known, that the secretion from the skin of *all* dark races (for it is not confined to the Negro, — the Hindoo, of Caucasian stock, being similar in this respect) is more abundant than that of the white; but that it is necessarily more odoriferous, is not the fact, — nothing but habits of cleanliness being required to prevent its being so. From my experience in the West Indies I can safely say, that I would as soon sit in a room-full of negroes, as in the midst of an equal number of the "great unwashed" of our own country; and it is obvious that the evil, if it has a real existence, must be greater in a tropical than in a temperate climate. I shall presently show what experience, on a more extended scale, has proved on this subject. Moreover, is the offence confined to the *black* race? Do the mulattoes share it? Do the quadroons? Is it propagated, with the minutest shade of black, to all the intermediate races, which at present lie under this ban in the United States? I can scarcely imagine this to be the case; at any rate I have known individuals of these classes in our own country, who do not share in the penalty, and who no more deserve to do so on this ground, than the average of those of pure European descent.

The other supposed "barrier" to which I allude, is the instinctive repugnance which is said to be felt in America to the union of two individuals of different races in marriage. I am quite at a loss to account for the feelings with which this subject is regarded in the United States, except by considering them as prejudices induced by the particular social condition in which the colored races are there placed. Even Dr. Tuckerman expressed a horror at the idea of the marriage of a white woman with a black man, — as if it were an altogether unnatural union. And yet such marriages are not uncommon in this country; it being notorious that the black stewards and servants who come over in our West India ships, very commonly marry white women (often very handsome ones) in our seaport towns; so that by far the larger proportion of the mulatto children which such towns contain, are the produce of these unions. But the best answer to this objection is furnished by the facts of continual occurrence in your own country; for it is notorious that, though *marriages* are prevented by law or by the force of public opinion, illicit connections are common enough, between white men, and women of all shades of color. And yet even fair-complexioned, well-portioned, well-educated, and virtuous young women, would be thought

unworthy of matrimony with a white man, if it could be proved that she had a sixteenth part of negro blood in her veins. Can it be wondered at, then, that these females should remain in the degraded position in which they are at present placed, so long as they have no hope of improving their condition, by the most rigid propriety of conduct, and by the highest cultivation of their minds? I think that the facts to which I allude, are a sufficient proof that the barrier is *not* impassable; and that however distasteful may be the idea of a marriage between individuals of different races, on account of the present relative social position of the two, it is no more than would exist in this country between the daughter of a peer, and the son of a ploughman. No one who is not prejudiced by the pride of descent, would look upon *this* as impassable, or would consider its fitness as depending upon anything else than the intellectual, moral, and personal qualifications, and the relative social positions, of the two parties. It might easily be, that the son of the ploughman might be really degraded by an alliance with the daughter of a peer. And I cannot but believe that, even in one or two generations, the daughter of an American merchant might find the descendant of the despised Negro not unworthy of her attachment. I need not dwell upon this point; since it is evident, from the facts to which I have alluded, that no barrier exists, which a difference in social position would not remove.

But how to raise the social position of the colored races, is (I admit) the difficult part of the question. It is considerably simplified, however, by the adoption of a general principle, the truth of which I conceive to be borne out by ample experience; — "If elevation in the social scale be held out to the colored races, as a reward within their power to attain, they will speedily qualify themselves for it; but so long as they are made to feel themselves an inferior race, and are debarred from social privileges, they will remain in the same depressed condition." When I visited the West Indies, about twelve years ago, the free colored population was nearly in the same position as it is in America at present. It was not viewed by the whites, however, with equal repugnance; in proof of which I may mention, that black families held seats in the body of the principal churches; and I may add, that I was accustomed to sit in the next pew to one of these, and never perceived the objectionable odor. The Government was then preparing the way for further improvements, by issuing militia commissions to respectable colored gentlemen, — a measure for which they were loudly censured by the white planters, but which soon ceased to encounter further opposition. Subsequently to the Emancipation Act, a much more friendly feeling has sprung up between the two races, especially in those islands which have been blessed with judicious Governors. This has been especially the case in Jamaica, under the excellent management of Sir Charles Metcalfe; who has left that island in advance — if anything — of the other colonies, though it was previously far behind them in this respect. He caused it to be understood, very early in his administration, that he should make no distinction of color; and that respectability of position and of character would entitle the black and colored inhabitants of the island to an equal share of his notice with the white. It was soon found that a considerable number of the former were qualified by wealth, by education, and by character, to

be admitted to the Governor's balls and parties, as well as to receive Government patronage; and this number has largely increased, during the few years that have elapsed since this system was commenced.

A few more facts bearing on the same subject, and falling within my own knowledge, may add strength to the position I have taken. The University of Edinburgh has seldom been without colored students; who have shown themselves fully equal to the average of their white compeers, in intelligence and assiduity; and who have never been excluded from social intercourse on account of their hue. At the present time there is a black student in the Temple, who is keeping his law-terms, eating his dinners, and associating in the usual manner with his fellow-students; and I have not heard that he has manifested any of the fancied disqualifications which are erected as barriers between the two races in America. The friend with whom I resided in the West Indies, and who paid me a visit last year, informed me that he had left one of the most valuable of the estates under his charge, to the care of a black manager, — a man whom I well remember as a slave twelve years ago; and that he regarded him as fully equal in capacity and in trustworthiness to the white managers employed on the other estates.—I cannot agree with the writer of your article, that the colored population is the "dominant class" in the West Indies. It may be so as regards number; but this by no means in all the colonies, — Barbadoes, for instance. As regards property, there cannot be a question that the vast preponderance is on the side of the whites. And as regards social position, it may confidently be asserted that the free colored races were, at the period at which I visited the West Indies, "a small and depressed minority." That they are no longer so, is the result of the Emancipation Act, and of the efforts which have been made, with judgment and perseverance, to break down the barriers, which twenty years ago were thought in the West Indies, as now in the United States, to be impassable. I again repeat, with an earnest conviction of the truth of what I have advanced, — "Hold out the reward, and it will be speedily attained."

I trust that I shall not be thought to have impertinently intruded myself and my opinions on your notice, if I request you to give these statements currency, either in the Christian Examiner, or in some other journal. I should, of course, prefer the former; but do not know whether it may be consistent with your plan to admit it. I do not ask any of my friends on your side of the Atlantic to take my assertions upon trust; but I do ask them not to satisfy themselves with vague generalities, on a subject on which it is of the utmost importance to possess clear and definite notions. I have purposely abstained from touching upon the moral questions involved in this knotty subject; because I do not feel justified in animadverting upon the opinions of those, who have better opportunities of judging upon them than I can claim; but I do entreat, that those who lead public opinion upon this subject, will not put forth such strong and sweeping assertions as that on which I have felt it my duty to comment, without examining into the evidence on which they are based, through some other medium than the mists of hereditary and national repugnance. I am, Dear Sir, with much respect,

Yours faithfully, WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M. D., F. R. S.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1844.

Art. I. — TENDENCIES OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY.*

It is not our purpose to enter into any examination of the work of which we have given the title below. Although never translated or reprinted in this country, it has been made known to a portion of the American public through the pages of a contemporary journal. It is sufficient to say, that Leroux sets out with the idea of *equality* as lying at the foundation of our view of man; and with what he calls the communion of the human race, or the *mutual solidarity of men;* the manifestation of God in humanity constituting, in his opinion, the appropriate sphere of religion. In what we have to offer, we shall only follow out in our own way some of the suggestions made in the introduction to his work. "We must seek," he says, "if there be not some fixed point, *in God and in us*, on which we may support ourselves, for the perfecting of ourselves, humanity, and the world." In other words, we need a point above the world, in order that we may move the world. This "fixed point," (given or implied in reli-

* *De l'Humanité, de son principe et de son avenir.* (Humanity, its principle and its future.) By Pierre Leroux. 2 vols. Paris. 1840.

gious belief,) is to be apprehended, defined, and made clear by philosophy. We intend, accordingly, to speak of some of the existing tendencies of philosophical thought, which may throw light on the character and workings of our own time.

The term "philosophy of the age" is as wide in its meaning as "spirit of the age." Perhaps indeed it is best defined as the interpreter of this spirit; its office being "to explain common sense to itself" — the *common sense of the age*, which shows itself in a thousand forms of thought and action, and makes the age what it is. The world of thought we believe to be guided and controlled by the Word of God that was from the beginning — that Providence, which makes the free spirit of man its minister, no less than the lightning and rushing wind. In the solemn march of centuries the mind seeks to trace the action of God, as his eternal plan slowly unfolds before us. What place do we hold in this vast movement? What are the character and work of our own day? And, as its interpreter, what are the tendencies of modern philosophy?

In attempting a partial answer to these inquiries, we shall consider the Philosophical Spirit, the Science, the Art, the Literature, and the forms of Action, of our age.

I. Philosophy. The disposition to abstract thought, the taste for speculation spreading everywhere, has often been said to be an eminent characteristic of our time. Certain it is, that a mighty flood of speculation is gushing out on all sides from the undercurrents of society, overflowing every subject of human life and interest. From skeptical questionings up to the highest-toned spiritual dogmatism, we are surrounded by forms of thought innumerable; and systems of philosophy rise up on every side, claiming each to be the true exponent of the spirit of the age.

Even if from the multitude we could select some one or a few to represent the present position of the human mind, our task would be scarcely easier. For it is true of philosophical, as has been said of scientific systems, that you must come up with and pass by them before you can turn and see their face, — as if they were going the same way with yourself. It is a rare faculty to be able to believe with a man long enough to understand his system, and then to judge it fairly, especially in its relation to others.

Besides, the systems of the present day are supposed to be, many of them, peculiarly difficult of comprehension, — not to speak of the varying hues they wear from time to time, and their "striding forward with *awful* rapidity," as Goethe said of Schiller's mind.

A glance, however superficial or imperfect, at the condition of speculation in the German, French, and English mind may help us to a right judgment. While so strong a party-feeling is at work both for and against every form, it must be peculiarly hard to avoid error. Still the attempt may be of service, especially as our present aim is simply to indicate, here and there, the elements that seem to be working together towards a common end.

The German philosophy has been compared to Gnosticism. Rather, it is Gnosticism reversed — the same abstract, independent and arrogant mode of thought, manifested (in scientific phrase) *at the opposite pole.* The essence of Gnosticism seems to be this: — the thoughts and conceptions of the Eternal Mind are not dead and inactive, *mere thought*, but are essentially alive, individual, and of power to act and generate new conceptions; the Eastern fancy bodying them forth in "endless genealogies" of Emanations from the unknown depth of the Divine Fulness, and giving all a personal existence. The moderns may have their Basilides in Kant, their Bardesanes in Schelling, and the Oriental mysticism in all; but the result is, that individuality is not created, but swallowed up in the depth of the unknown.

The very earnestness, which is spoken of as the first characteristic of the German mind, leads the partisans of the various schools to carry out unflinchingly their first principles to the last result; finding there a point from which to survey the whole, rather than grasping and steadily balancing the entire circle of various and mutually modified facts of experience. So each sails stoutly on his own career over the waters of discovery and controversy, and each will have his own point to be, like Delphos, the centre and the oracle of the world. It is difficult to estimate the amount of service done, by thus showing all the results of a course of thought, and plunging so deeply towards the unknown boundaries of human knowledge. A new generation of thinkers comes forward, gathers the

results thus reached, and after this wide survey can mould them into a system of greater width and truer balance. "The history of German philosophy is from the beginning inwrought with the history of the German people." So Schelling says in his recent lectures; and considering the singular activity of mind now displayed, together with the greater disposition towards a true eclecticism, we cannot help confiding in a good issue from the conflict of parties now going on.

In the philosophical aspect of Germany we are struck too with another fact, the more noticeable from the exaggerating tendency of the national mind, — a fact which must make all philosophy of modern times essentially different from the ancient speculations. It is the controlling influence which Christianity exerts over the tone of thought. Christianity, in every doctrinal form, has proved itself a system of too profound philosophical truth, and has too well satisfied the spiritual wants of men, to suffer human systems to wander very far from its central meaning. In the old philosophies we are told of the youth, the maturity, and the age of philosophic thought. Modern philosophy rests on the Christian doctrine of immortality, which never grows old. While it is true to itself, its life-principle is from "Jesus Christ, *the same* yesterday, to-day, and forever."

And this may be expressed again in the wider form, that "Paganism was the triumph of destiny, Christianity of liberty." Whatever exceptions may be found in the lives of a few great men, it can hardly be denied that the result of ancient philosophy was to teach man endurance. That of the present day is higher, for it teaches him action. Calm and unmoved, under the spirit of the ancient sages, he met the fate he was taught to believe marked out for him. As the Roman senate sat in silent majesty "like a council of the gods," awaiting the death-stroke of the barbarian invader, so the philosopher calmly folded himself in his mantle, and met unshrinking the destiny that was before him. Thus the ancients taught the sublimity of resignation to absolute, fixed fate. But now no longer the voice warns us to stand still and endure what has been ordained for the coming day. Its strain is higher and more sublime:—"*Go forth to meet* the shadowy future without fear, and with a manly heart." Man has learned that his

power lies in action. Philosophy has at last declared to him that his will is free. His own soul tells him that he can *do* as well as die. The time calls on him to act, — to gird himself for the strife, and to battle for truth. Freedom is the starting-point of all spiritual philosophy; and we are led now to see it the rather, because it has been so earnestly set forth by the German mind, and by those who have drawn thence the spirit of their philosophy.

Of the French mind we can hardly speak as confidently, or with as much sympathy. The French have cultivated the strict sciences so exclusively, that their influence is seen in the forms of speculation now, almost as plainly as in the unmitigated deductions of Condillac and Cabanis. They seem hitherto to have been employed rather in making a science of philosophy than a scientific philosophy; and our hope in them is not so much in the results they have come to already, as in the desire they show not to rest where they are. We cannot deny that they have shown an intellectual spirituality and breadth, even a good degree of intellectual enthusiasm; and perhaps it is only an unconscious prejudice which makes us hesitate to concede to them the fulness of the living spirit of modern philosophy. We cannot help looking on it thus. The mind is going before, "if haply it may feel after and find" in the Infinite a resting-place for the spirit, a resting-place which as yet they have hardly sought successfully. The fond and sweeping generalizations, which make their systems so neat, attractive, and in some important respects so valuable, are shown wherever we see any manifestation of French thought. Fourier devises a scheme for the organization of society; and straightway, overlooking the sacredness and beauty of the home and family feeling, he draws up a score of evils of the family-interest, and will have us to believe that all the ills society groans under will vanish, so soon as this remnant of patriarchal and barbaric life shall be done away. And the Saint Simonists cannot adopt a principle of progress and social reform, without eschewing at once in a mass society as at present, and would found their new structure on the unknown depth; building up afresh from "the void and formless infinite."

Meanwhile we cannot doubt that all this earnest thought, and the high reforming hope manifested here, will contrib-

ute each its share to the great movement for good. "The great slow-moving wheel which brings the race towards its perfection, is only set in motion by smaller, swifter wheels, each of which brings its own share of force." The French are in the habit of saying, that the thought evolved by others must pass through their hands, before it can be moulded into a compact form for practical use. The busy, confident and systematic mind of this people must perform a part of incalculable moment, when the conception of a harmonious, united civilization and progress of the whole human race is once steadily apprehended. The French are satisfied with nothing less than this vast all-encircling plan; and if their systems serve to fix this thought firmly in the mind of the age, an office of singular value cannot fail to be rendered to the common cause of the world. There are some who think they must judge of a system as a whole, forgetting that the true work of the system-maker is to present certain results in a definite and convenient form. A system is a compact way of stating the *net result* of a man's experience and reflection; and so always has value to one who is desirous of including every form of human thought in his survey, and who has the power of finding out the true part, to mould into a still wider and truer form. To such a one there will always be especial value in the theory of an active, earnest, confident, and *rather one-sided* mind; "for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making." The radius of his circle will reach the further. Who would be satisfied with Milton's system? And yet there have lived and spoken very few men who would do as much as he to give life, breadth, and depth to one's own independent thought. It is our very business to seek out and assimilate the immortal part, which gave life to the system when it was first made.

Of the state of English philosophical thought, (including our own,) it is hard to speak. Parties are as strongly arrayed as amongst the Germans, and it would seem on far more widely (at least palpably) differing grounds. On the one hand is the Conservative party, whose real sincerity, earnestness, and religious spirit are often most unjustly depreciated or denied by their opponents; while in dense array against them appear the mingled and diversified ranks of the Reformers. The various elements of thought

at work in so manifold forms, it is not easy to classify, or trace to a single principle. Without joining in the clamor raised by some against the sober and careful spirit which has characterized the English school so called, acknowledging the inestimable value of such a spirit, as a prime element of all true thought, we shall be led to look rather at the peculiar present tendencies of the English mind, and those forms which are the growth of our own day.

Shelley hesitated whether to devote himself to poetry or philosophy. Considering the ethical and religious deficiencies of his mind, (which made him overlook the moral condition of Greek society, and say, "these men should be the gods of our idolatry,") it is fortunate that he was not the acknowledged leader of the new philosophical movement. Yet he seems to have given a very strong impulse, and in the main a true one. That spirit of love, which woke such enthusiasm in him, and which he "celebrated everywhere as the principle that should govern the moral universe," forms the centre, about which much living and earnest thought is gathering. All this is of course in a very crude and unformed state; and mingled with it is abundance of semi-ignorant dogmatism. And so earnestly are the minds of these reformers bent on certain principles of *being* and *love*, that they seem hardly to come as yet near the question of historical Christianity or practical ethics. Their creed too, (so far as they have one,) is essentially mystic and quietist; and this, from its nature, either dies away speedily, or else, gaining form and vigor by its effort to spread, becomes modified into something else. For these various reasons, we cannot yet speak of a new English school. We can only point out the existence and tendencies of a new and remarkable development of thought.

This is not confined to a sect or to a single place. Beginning with the impulse given to theology by Coleridge, and passing through every grade of Christian belief, till we come to the mystic apostle of a universal revelation, we find more or less distinct traces of the same working of thought; sometimes powerful enough to dissolve all other prejudices and distinctions. So far as we can see it clearly, it is characterized by the most unlimited freedom of speculation, a tracing back of everything to very remote

principles, and a wide sympathy. This is united, in the case of those men we are speaking of, with a singular faith and reliance on those remote truths, which are only vague abstractions to the mass of men. The gorgeous cloud-scenes of Shelley, which are like the shadows of a dream to common minds, are to them living and quickening realities. And it is not hard to understand their enthusiasm for the high universal truths they utter. Some one has said that he could not read the Queries appended to Newton's Optics, but that "his blood would run cold and his hair stand on end." And what those Queries are in physics, the declarations of these reformers about universal spirit are in metaphysics. We tremble in the stillness of a fair evening, when we think of the Power that holds the heavens calmly in their balance; what wonder that men's enthusiasm should be kindled, when they think and speak of the Infinite Life that thinks in the thought and throbs in the bosom of every man?

If we ask of this, as we have of the others, what part it has to bear in the great cause of common thought and progress, we are forced to see that its action is as yet indirect. For the present, there is not method enough, nor a sufficiently clear intellectual development of the thought that underlies it all, to let us trace its action clearly, or see what it is destined to accomplish. At the same time, from its high claims, and its assumption to judge of every institution from so remote and absolute a position, it must drive thinking men to deeper and more careful thought. Institutions will be tried "as by fire." The creed we hold we shall be forced to search thoroughly. A spirit of earnest inquiry must spread through every form of belief; and if the principle of love, spirituality, and implicit trust in what is living and true be only guarded and kept pure, the result must be to place the whole religious and philosophical mind on a far higher position than it has ever occupied before. And we are encouraged to hope rather than fear, when we see how this earnest thought seeks to express itself in action; and proposes to itself no less an object than Christianity itself, that is, *to set the world right*, and establish everything on the absolute, pure foundation of universal love — peace on earth and good will among men.

Again; we think this movement encouraging, because it

begins with absolute faith in something. The object of belief may be remote and abstract; but to apprehend *something* as a living reality, is of infinite service to the mind. For, in the first place, it quickens one to action, and seems to be a condition of his accomplishing any worthy end in life; and farther, it is the very nature of such a faith to spread and grow, bringing continually new objects within its influence, and controlling more and more the whole structure of the mind. Therefore we are not impatient at the imperfect conception these men have of Christianity. Coming out of a poor and shallow skepticism, or "centre of indifference," we think they are approaching Christianity from the right side. A strong conviction of high spiritual truth forms the germ; and around this, in the natural course of things, must gather a wider belief in the facts on which the religion rests in other minds. Opponents of the obscure system are apt to overlook the value of such a central point, out of which something better will hereafter be evolved.

We must not omit to mention the different forms of skepticism which appear now and then amongst us. By this we mean not disbelief, but unbelief — a want of trust in the foundations of belief. Occasionally, indeed, we find men who glory in believing "nothing but blood and brains;" and who make their boast of material Fatalism, writing infidelity boldly on their front. This infidel dogmatism is too poor, and we may add, too rare to merit much notice. But there are many who grope uneasily after something they know not what; who feel obscurely an impulse to look for a better state of society, and who, feeling little sympathy with existing forms and institutions, stand aloof and wear reluctantly the name of infidel. Sometimes an astonishing patience is displayed by a large assembly in listening to the driest details of historical argument; sometimes they will bear with nothing but the wandering oddities of some half-crazed fanatic. It is a dreary thing, to see men drifting about without compass, helm or pilot, — acknowledging no authority, denying or questioning all principles, plunging and floundering blindly in the depths of misty, aimless speculation. Here is a vague Materialism, calling itself Pantheism, and trying to reconcile its blind fatalism with its notions of certain duties owed to

the community and to mankind; while there, is a simple aversion to existing forms of belief, coming perhaps from the vices and unfaithfulness of those who profess a Christian faith, and leading too surely to a heartless skepticism, to which all truth and goodness seem unreal. And then again, there is the captious cavilling of the busy, ill-balanced understanding, which will perpetually find fault; and stands like the figure we sometimes see on the head of a weathercock, brandishing furiously its puny weapon in empty space, turning round and round in the same spot, and at best serving only to show which way the wind blows. Such are some of the various forms of skepticism which we have met in the street, in public meetings, and in the prison; a skepticism which rests not on argument, and which consequently argument will not reach; which is simply the hollowness of no-faith; which can be cured only by an intellectual and moral regeneration, and receiving an object to live and act for.

We have not ventured to speak of skepticism as it is elsewhere, but only as we have seen it amongst ourselves. It serves to show something of the state of thought among the mass of the people, (in our cities especially,) disclosing a want that can only be supplied by giving an object for the moral and religious nature. A certain amount of satisfaction has been found by many, in flocking back to the Catholic Church. The exclusively intellectual form which Protestantism has often taken, has caused not only division, but uneasiness of feeling and want of hearty belief. The Catholic movement of the South of Germany, contemporary with the mystical development in the North, together with the vexed and vexing question of Puseyism in the English Church, need only be alluded to as a sign of the same want, and an example of the same fact. And it is in the midst of all this, that we see silently growing and spreading the germs of that spiritual truth, which is to be the object of faith to the future.

II. SCIENCE. It may seem almost hopeless to attempt to set forth, in a few words, the bearing of Physical Science on the general subject we are considering. Still a topic so broad, so fruitful, and every way so important must not be wholly overlooked. For, setting aside the influence of Christianity, the one great intellectual element which makes

modern philosophy essentially to differ from the ancient is the existence of science, or a groundwork of knowledge settled and *incontrovertibly true.* It is our purpose to show that the science of the present day does not obscure or deny spiritual truth; in opposition to the sciolist who sneers at what will not come within the compass of his experiments or analysis, and in encouragement to those who have a vague apprehension that science is somehow at war with their faith. Looking at it with this single view, we shall state, as briefly as possible, the position and the advantages of scientific inquiry.

Science has acquired a language, inconceivably complete, flexible, significant, copious, and well-defined. Its analysis is an instrument of unlimited power for finding out, moulding, and wielding the truth it is in search of. Its formulæ have been well called "emblematic of Omniscience," and are the alphabet by which the mind of the Creator is read in his works. For, says Hobbes, "nature is the art whereby God made and governs the world." From mathematical symbols through the whole range of physical investigation, the language of science expresses clear, strictly determined ideas; and embodies facts or laws, universally true, of the widest application in practice.

Next; science is steadily carrying out its generalizations towards absolute unity. The confused mass of apparently disconnected facts which nature offers to our senses, is reduced to order; and this order is expressed in the general facts which we call laws. Thus the theory of universal Gravitation not only explains the perplexing motions of celestial bodies and bodies terrestrial, but it is mathematically shown to be capable of accounting for the present form and revolutions of all the sidereal systems we are acquainted with, on the simple postulate of an irregularly diffused nebulous mass, acted on by a power exerted according to the law as stated by Newton. The laws of Chemical Affinity, Electricity, and Magnetism, are brought under the general law of Polarity; a force whose subtle mystery baffles and defies the power of language to express even its results in intelligible terms. It has been a main object throughout Faraday's long series of recent experiments, to throw light on this singularly difficult conception of Polarity, so as to bring it into a state fit for the purposes

of strict science. Gravitation itself is more than suspected to be a modification of Polar Force, and this view has been employed to explain the erratic motions of comets; while in another direction the same law, together with that of Chemical Equivalents, which shows a new feature of unity where nature seemed most capricious and lawless, is giving new method and completeness to Crystallization and Mineralogy. The Undulatory theory of Light and Heat brings together and explains the most curious and apparently contradictory facts hitherto known respecting them; while remote analogies are disclosing themselves, which seem to connect them with the laws of Electricity and Sensation. Lastly, we have the Type of vegetable and of animal structure; making scientific classification possible, uniting the entire system of organized nature in one whole, enabling us to read the posthumous history of the former condition of our globe, and leading towards the much desired result of a true statement and exposition of the law of life, or vital force. The theory of universal gravitation, the law of polar force, the undulatory theory of light and heat, and the type of organic nature, together with the great perfection to which the pure mathematics have been brought, seem to express the last and highest result which science has at present reached. Such a summary is of course abstract, and not to be understood without previous study; but its value, when we are estimating the position and attainments of the modern mind, will not be denied.

From this short summing up of the principles of science, let us turn to its more direct connexion with our subject, — its uses in philosophical study, and its influence upon the intellectual character and the habits of thought.

Science accustoms us to the study of realities. "The ancients analyzed by means of adjectives, the moderns by substances." Thus the inestimable advantage is gained, of the steady contemplation of fixed principles. One will value this aright, who has known something of the wavering and doubtful conceptions of most metaphysicians.

Science teaches the right use of language, the tool and weapon of thought. After the barren logomachies which pervade and perplex such a mass of metaphysical discussion, it is a relief to study a book of clear, rigid science. Such an intellectual habit as the "physicist" is forced into,

would be of infinite service to hyper-physical philosophers; at least would have the singular merit of abridging both their labors and their works.

Science gives the inquiring mind something to rest on as settled, and irresistibly induces the habit of believing that there is truth; and if we doubt the use of this, a moment's observation will startle us by showing the wide-spread, withering influence of Pyrrhonism, in almost every department of thought. The simple repose of the conviction we have in the truths of natural science, sets the mind singularly at rest in regard to the dark and vexed questions of metaphysical investigation. Besides, a firm conviction of *something* does not lie still; but lives, gathers, and grows.

Science gives the habit of ascending through higher and higher forms of truth, or laws. We are taught continually, by the history of the last two centuries, how in the progress of science the mind is forced to grapple with and comprehend continually new ideas and laws; hard at first to conceive, but first proved, then adopted, and finally made easy to the mind. Thus science is constantly suggesting the possibility of laws higher than nature, and disposes one to receive readily the proof of such. Following the order of facts forced upon our notice, we rise above the region of science itself into the domain of pure spirit. Our science has already taught us that we may and must do so without scruple; and we admit the mystery of the free-acting spirit, as readily as the lower generalizations of mechanical attraction, chemical affinity, or vital force. For freedom is the starting-point of spiritualism, as much as cause is of natural science; and in a perfect system they will not interfere.

Such must be the influence of true science on a philosophical mind; and, in an age so eminently scientific as our own, surely no department of human thought is more worthy of consideration in this regard. We believe that all truth is harmonious, and all points to God; and we trust we have shown that the tendency of modern science is to harmony with the highest spiritualism — the highest discovered truth being in unison with the revealed; "and what God hath joined let not man put asunder." The oneness of truth — this is the lesson forced on us by science. Day by day we build higher and firmer the structure of our knowl-

edge. Truth opens before us in the light of science and philosophy and religion, and becomes the "living temple" of the Infinite Spirit, the Author of all truth.

III. ART. In every recognition of the high meaning and purpose of Art, we see something gained for our philosophy. Especially when we look back on the golden period of art in Italy, and find the pure Platonic spirit and high ideal love inspiring all her followers, we confess the close alliance of philosophy and art. To the artist there is something sacred in his intense love of ideal beauty. In the words of Michael Angelo,

> "Heaven holdeth out the key,
> Love turns it, and unlocks to virtuous minds
> The sanctuary of the beautiful."

The love of beauty as revealed in form makes a part of the structure of the finest minds; and art brings its share to the philosophy which they adopt.

We seem to see at the present day a revival both of the love and of the true philosophy of art. The idea is everywhere found, that, as Schelling has expressed it, "Beauty is the infinite represented in a finite shape. Art is the representation of ideas, a revelation of Divinity to the human mind." And in accordance with this, we find that all art is aiming at a point higher than it can reach. This, as Beethoven said, is a thought expressed throughout his music — that all harmony or rest is only imperfect; that the mind is ever longing and reaching out for something yet beyond.

This, we may perhaps say, is a characteristic of modern, *Christian* art. Grecian art seems to be complete — to have attained all it aimed at. But how much is conveyed in the simple fact, that the Gothic architecture, which most of all soars and strives visibly after infinity, *was never finished*; and that Leonardo da Vinci, after laboring to express his conception of the Saviour's face, left his painting beautiful indeed, but to him incomplete. Science and art go hand in hand, sisters, and ministers of truth; and both look upward into heaven.

It is needless to point out the many examples of a returning love of art, overcoming the too exclusively rationalizing tendency of the modern civilization. It

makes a part of that general disposition, which we have been trying to illustrate, to seek a philosophy which should satisfy our longing for spiritual truth. Some of the most striking indications of it are the recent erection of the "Valhalla," as the Pantheon of German heroes, and the vast preparations to complete the cathedral of Cologne; Catholic and Protestant Germany thus in honorable rivalry to satisfy the growing desire for art. And our American Crawford expresses, in a letter to a friend, a warm and enthusiastic hope, that an American school of art will grow up, as superior to the Grecian as our land and institutions are nobler than the ancient.

Music is emphatically the art of our time; and of all, this appears to be the most purely and essentially spiritual. Architecture bears, in its solemn and stately purity, the closest analogy with it, and is alone capable of expressing something of its deep and mystic significance. But all the rest are silent and still; while music flows on, like life, an ever new creation. It is so plastic and universal in its nature, moulding itself so readily, whether to embody the gentle breathing of a mother's prayer, or to make the minster dome tremble with its majestic exultation and sounding hallelujah, and so uttering forth the secret longings and aspirations of the soul that cannot be told in words, that it claims the highest place as the art of the spirit. "I well know," said Beethoven, "that God is nearer to me in my art than to others. I commune with him without fear. Ever more have I acknowledged and understood him." In the growing reverence for his spirit we see a sign that music is regarded more in its rightful character; and no less, in the noble and religious tone assumed by the genius of Mendelssohn. The spiritual depth of the German mind finds nowhere so fit embodiment as in this form of music; and the national genius, which inspired Handel to speak in the language of music the faith of Christendom, is now pouring itself over the world, in changing forms, through the same universal speech.

Sculpture gives a prominent example of the revival of true art. While music and painting took their character from the religion of the middle age, and thus have been Christian arts, sculpture remained classic and Pagan. While depth of sentiment, (which belongs more to the first

two,) came from the Church, grace of form belongs rather to the antique; and, with the exception of Michael Angelo, few, if any, seem to have conceived of sculpture as an independent modern art. But now a new period seems to have come. In the lofty conceptions of Thorwaldsen, and in the aspiring genius of several of our own countrymen, there are indications of a spiritual and Christian school. It is interesting too to remark how the religious idealism with which Swedenborgianism clothes every outward shape, all things being types and symbols of spiritual realities, and heaven itself being mystically shadowed forth in the human form, has carried its influence into art. Flaxman was of this faith; and all who have received only a little of its solemnizing spirit, learn to regard all art, especially this of sculpture, with a new feeling of reverence and love.

The great influence of art must not be lost sight of, that it opens the eyes to the reality and meaning there is all about us. It is the vice and weakness of almost all systems of philosophy, that they narrow our eyesight, while they make us see more deeply and clearly in certain directions; and they have therefore been compared to the *blinders*, which the mules and horses wear in the mountain-passes of Spain. But, as the beauty of a work of art does not lie on the surface, but consists in the gradual unfolding to our mind of the artist's soul and high conception therein embodied; so the habit of mind which a study of art gives, makes us look through all forms, into the inner meaning. And the feeling of the beautiful thus fostered, links together, in one harmonious whole, the truth given by philosophy and science, with that goodness which is the higher claim of religion.

IV. LITERATURE. This is a more universal and spontaneous expression of thought than the philosophy we before attempted to trace. In the vast, complicated, and growing mass of modern literature, it is our object to indicate here and there the signs that thought takes a higher stand, and its tone becomes more clear and true. If we take Bacon's division of learning into "history, poesy, and philosophy," we have now to consider the first two, — that which investigates, and that which creates.

If we look at the historical, we are struck with the united diligence in minute things, and power of tracing

great principles. It seems to be acknowledged that this is a new era of history. The human race is conceived of as a whole. Its experience is history; its learning, science; its teacher, Providence. "What education is to the individual, revelation is to the race." What distinctness of meaning, for example, is given to modern history, by regarding ancient civilization as the head, Christianity as the heart, and the strong will of the North as the hand, of modern civilization. Universal history is regarded now not as a bare record, but as the outline of the world's life, and each part has its significance in its bearing on the whole. Facts thus linked together have a wholly new meaning given to them; and the bald branches of the genealogical tree of human history put forth leaves and bear fruit, when life is breathed into them by the spirit of philosophy; and bounteously, by the fulness of the fruit they yield, remunerate the fostering care of modern thought.

"Seeing that ofttimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many footsteps and reliques of something true," modern history has ceased from the poor mockery and contempt of ancient myths and traditions, and builds itself on the narrations and the thought of every age. This is one step taken. And another is, that instead of looking back with supercilious skepticism, or merely to gratify a natural curiosity, the historian uncovers with reverence the venerable reliques of antiquity; and as the philosopher seeks in the soul the mark of God's signet which He stamped there at the creation, so in the life of past ages the historian points out to us the signs of His presence, and teaches us to watch the course of Providence. Far removed is this from the poverty-stricken Epicureanism, which sees nothing divine in the soul, and says, in the semblance of religious humility,

> "He sees with equal eye, as God of all,
> A hero perish or a sparrow fall;
> Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
> And now a bubble burst, and now a world."

"History must live," says D'Aubigné, "by that principle of life which is proper to it, and that life is God." "Every revolution," says Jouffroy, "is a step in the discovery of the true and the good."

If, as has been said, all high intellectual refinement is and should be grounded on poetry, the character of thought in this direction must not be overlooked. We can look back now on the last quarter-century of overflowing intellectual life in England, as on the past. The scroll which bears the names of Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, Scott, and Byron, goes on slowly unfolding, and opening to us a new generation. Wordsworth's influence seems destined to be the most enduring on the coming age. "He has won the battle now", said Coleridge, "ay, and will wear the crown while English is English." And remembering what his influence is, leading us to see the divine through every humble form, we look for a true and lofty stand for the modern mind. *Where he was contemplative, our generation must be earnest.* This is the right way to carry out and apply the spirit that has been committed to us.

Such minds as Carlyle, (and perhaps we may add Shelley,) have forced us into the current of earnest independent thought, and bid us bear up in its troubled waters, and win our faith if we can; pointing us at the same time to something glorious, dimly seen, towards which we are to strive. In this something good is accomplished; for there can be no true action without enthusiasm, "and no enthusiasm without an ideal, and no ideal without eternal ideas of good and order." Year by year the same spring-birds come to greet us; and the world remains the same to them, while men must be moving on towards a new heaven and a new earth, and the face of human life must change from age to age. But the same ideal that smiles upon us in Raphael's Madonna, or soars in the aspiration of Milton, is always present to the human race, leading it on and upward. Now and then there is a time of sickness at heart and despair; as Shelley saw in the huge glaciers "crawling" down the mountain to swallow up the vale of Chamouni an emblem of the dark power which seemed to overshadow the destinies of the race; and as in his most living poetry the image of ghastly death intrudes, like the skeleton at Egyptian feasts. Still each generation must look forward with new hope; and this hope is embodied in its higher literature. "Poetry," says Jouffroy, "expresses the indistinct thought of the masses, which is comprehended only by philosophy. If poetry comprehended it, it would become philosophy, and disappear."

That there is an earnest tone, and a looking forth into the future for some good to be realized, we see in every department of literature. Even the black mass of modern Parisian "works for the people," is visited and fantastically illuminated by some gleams of heaven's light. And in a more congenial sphere, we find that to one class of minds Dickens seeks to convey a real sympathy for man, if not a distinct moral and reforming spirit; while the gushing flood of fervent thought and feeling in "Festus," not only indicates a spirit far higher, in its holiness and beauty, than is seen in its German prototype "Faust," but, in spite of confounding goodness with sentiment, and laxity both of morality and structure, looks like the herald of better things to come. The key-note of all, from the vast and splendid harmony of "Prometheus Unbound" to the iron clang or sad wailing of the "Corn-Law Rhymes," is, that good is to conquer evil; a prophetic solution of the great moral problem held out to philosophy.

Such is the tone of the spontaneous utterances of our day — summed up so gloriously in the last words of Channing. And who shall say that this union of many voices in the same aspiration, and of souls in one hope, has not in it something prophetic? Some philosophers speak of a delicate sense by which we hold unconscious connexion with the outward world, and may be warned beforehand of accidents or coming events; as the lower animals feel the approach of the earthquake or thunderstorm. And why may there not be a moral state, where the soul is in such sympathy with the spiritual laws that are unfolding, as to predict, though dimly, the coming of a new age? Philosophy has already justified many things which to the common sense of past ages looked visionary and absurd. At any rate, in literature it must always find some of its most precious materials. Our American literature is young, fresh, and unstained; full of hope, aspiration, and humanity; earnest and free in its spirit. We may be pardoned if we hope, even too confidently, that side by side with this new growth of thought, we are to see a true and healthy philosophy, native and free, borne up and cultivated by the hands of our generation of young men.

V. Action. If what has now been said of the character of *thought* in our day be true, we must expect to find

traces of it in the *action* of the age. In other words, a spiritual philosophy involves certain ideas, which, as they affect the tone of the common thought, will be made manifest in various forms of action. Not that this must needs grow out of a settled theory; for if we had to satisfy our minds with theory before we train our hearts in action, we should never take a single step. But evidently thought and life modify each other; and now we wish to see how spiritual thought and a practical application of it gain by being united.

This is essential to any tolerably comprehensive survey of philosophy in its widest sense. We know not the true life of the age without seeing how the age works, for "the end of life is an action, not a thought;" and "ye shall know the tree by its fruit." Without such a wide and practical meaning, philosophy becomes, as it was in Greece, and as we too often see it now, merely the wrangling of vain and noisy sophists. With the view we have taken of it, as the interpreter of the common thought, its character is very different. In early Greece, the philosopher was he who lived among men as the spectator at the public games — only a looker-on. But in this game of life, as Bacon says, only God and the angels have a right to be lookers-on. And "are not they *ministering spirits*" too? Philosophy, as the guide of life, and the exponent of human thought, and of the interests and destinies of humanity, is serious and earnest. It is the voice of the human race when it rises up in its might and in its sorrow, to ask of God and the universe the awful questions that relate to its destiny — the duty and the dignity of mankind. It grows out of the bosom of humanity; and recognizing the spiritual union among all men, the philosopher feels his life to be bound up in the great whole. Thus philosophy is embodied, or actualized and made tangible, so to speak; and as the union of spirit with matter forms what we call life, so here we see the life of thought.

We shall attempt to trace in their actual results, some of the principles and ideas which are implied in a spiritual philosophy.

Moral freedom, we have already said, is the starting-point of such a philosophy. And in accordance with this, the present action in behalf of freedom is one of the most

striking "signs of the times." It is remarkable to see how minds of the highest order are looking steadily in this direction; and how the impulse towards liberty, which began madly enough in politics in the form of French democracy, spreads through all our social and moral relations. The fact to be noticed here is, that thoughtful and speculative minds recognize freedom as an active principle, in the same form which enlists the enthusiasm of a wide-spread and every day widening popular movement. Of course we do not touch here on the policy or the method of conduct of this movement, but simply point to the fact. A cause is embraced and carried on spontaneously by the public, founded on no narrow or national interest, but on the high, abstract, speculative idea of freedom as the right of man; a right resting on the very constitution of his nature; his birthright, as a child of God.

Again; unity is an idea belonging essentially and only to such a philosophy. The unity of the human race, in its rights and its interests, is a thought very nearly allied to that of freedom; and we find the motto of the friends of freedom expressing it thus: "Our country is the world — our countrymen all mankind." All science, and of late years Political Economy, is leading to this view. We find it, again, acted on, (in a very imperfect way indeed,) in the political and commercial relations of countries. Even the dim apprehension of it implied in the doctrine of the balance of power is an advance on the politics of former ages; and the late wars in the East, while violating its sacredness in one respect, are yet defended by an appeal to this very principle. But we see it held up, in its absolute form, by the supporters of the movement in favor of peace; and in the gradual, silent spread of their principles, we trace the working of the same general spirit which we have employed ourselves in seeking under other forms. The great thought of peace is brought forward by Schlegel, as lying at the foundation of a Christian State; and comparing this with the military Republic of Plato, we see the immense gain of abstract moral principles in modern philosophy.* We cannot do more here than just allude to

* "Both sexes are to carry on war. Children should be present in battle. In war with civilized nations, the enemy must not be plundered or enslaved; such war being only a disease, or *civil* war. But barbari-

the many simultaneous forms of association, or systematic schemes for the entire reorganization of society in strict outward conformity with this idea of unity, — especially unity of interest and social privileges. The fact that such associations exist and spread shows that the idea, though prematurely and crudely embodied, is yet widely prevalent and deeply seated as a principle of action.

Closely related to this view of the unity of the race, is the idea of duty to man as man. In a certain sense this has always been held by the Church, and is involved in the very essence of Christianity. We speak of it as an active principle of the present day. The great missionary movement, whose vast plan, laying out the earth in portions as its field and looking forward to centuries for accomplishment, we cannot think of without wonder and reverence, is a form of action in many respects peculiar to our own era; particularly in the ever widening view taken of the sphere and objects of such a work. Since the time of Howard, too, a way of regarding prison discipline has become part of the common thought, even implied in legislation, which was only the dream of a few pietists in former times. It begins to be faintly recognized, that the object of law is "the greatest good of the greatest number;" that the duty is of the State to the man, not of the man to the State alone. And we see religious and philanthropic action brought to bear, in many hitherto untried forms, on the despised and neglected mass of the city streets. All men have relations to spiritual truth. Right on the one hand implies duty on the other; and the recognition of this universal claim of man forms one feature and result of modern thought.

Another principle involved in a spiritual philosophy is, that the soul, having close relation to an infinite Source of life, bears always within it the germ of good, and has a living regenerative power. This principle is appealed to in all the missionary movements just spoken of. But more particularly, one of the most remarkable forms of popular action, in its present stage, rests on the most explicit avowal of it; and the Temperance cause is not only a tri-

ans are natural enemies; war with them is *war*." (Rep. Lib. V.) The same book holds forth Plato's singular substitute for marriage. Yet Plato is often mentioned side by side with Christ.

umphant appeal to this high abstract principle, but it furnishes to the philosophic observer a whole new order of facts, — facts of immense value, regarded simply as mental and moral phenomena, and serving our present purpose, by indicating that one of the highest inferences from a spiritual system is seen distinctly, felt, and acted on; is, in a word, part of the moral life and common sense of the age. Whatever be the condition of the man, the *soul* is there, "not dead, but sleeping;" and as it is the essence of spirit to act and live, it can be roused to new action and a new life. Thus there is not only moral truth or beauty in the idea lying at the root of the Temperance reform, but, as displayed and proved by facts, it has a singular scientific value, when we examine it with this view.

Last, and involved in all the foregoing, is the idea of education — the development of the faculties of the soul in their right proportion, and as all bearing upon the immortal life. This is often spoken of as part of the theory of modern philosophy; we allude to it now as part of the practice of modern *action*. To see clearly the claim of this cause, is the first step towards recognizing soul as superior to any mere worldly interest. The cause of education seems to belong both to heaven and to earth, to be the connecting link between duty and interest. It embraces what is absolute and commanding in the one, while it makes the way clear to the mind to see the true bearing and character of the other. As a fact of the time, we have it shown in the school system of Prussia, in the institutions for philosophical and scientific instruction in London and Paris, and in the way the question of education is mingling itself with the public action of our country. And as theory, when we call to mind what education is in its broad meaning, as including absolutely every topic that relates to the soul's culture and to the unfolding of the great thoughts and interests of society, when we see to what the continuing public action on the subject must lead, we acknowledge the importance of this as an indication of the position of the human mind now, and as a most serviceable aid to modern philosophy.

It has been our object, in this rapid survey of the position of modern thought, not to show every influence that is

at work — this would be impossible — but to point out certain tendencies in the active mind of the day, which seem to be leading towards a common result. In this sketch, we have been guided by a few simple principles. First, it has not seemed best to repeat the often told history of recent philosophical systems. We have regarded them simply as parts of a far wider whole, and as indications of the spirit we were in search of. Next, we have sought our materials, not in the past generation, but in our own — looking as near as possible to the *edge* of the opening scroll of time — following as closely as possible the margin of the waters that are slowly creeping up the beach; and being led, in consequence, to study our subject in intercourse with living minds, and in the crude and miscellaneous materials which no written system or history of philosophy has embodied or recognized, but which serve our purpose by showing the various forms of mental activity that characterize our age. And lastly, we have surveyed all, not as the advocates of any human system, but from the ground of common sense and common Christianity; reading in all, the action of some universal spirit, and hints towards the working out of God's truth; seeking to be just to all, to show where it was possible the germs of truth, and, in general, to avoid prejudice or censure, and to point out rather the part which each mode of living thought is performing, towards the attainment of the final and grand result.

Looking with this spirit upon the present, we have sought, however imperfectly we must have succeeded, to see the true position of the human mind. From the smallest to the most vast and comprehensive, we see that philosophy embraces every subject of human thought and interest. It is the most dignified and solemn language of the soul of man; and coming, as it must, to be regarded as that addressed by the greatest minds to the whole, and thought becoming thus of universal interest, the dignity and value of philosophy, as the interpreter of truth and the guide of life, must be continually increasing.

In the dim and remote possibilities of the future, the question seems to rise up before us, — may not the result of so much labor expended in every form of thought, be brought to bear on the well-being of each? May not all

truth, speculative and practical, be so moulded into unity, as to act with its full force on the life of every man; — just as the student or philosopher inherits the result of past ages of intellectual toil, and in daily life we reap, though imperfectly, the fruits of the wisdom and labor of our fathers? At least, while this is the end proposed, *can progress ever stop?*

And now, looking back once more over the field we have surveyed, we look forward again with joy and hope. We cannot shut our eyes to the obstacles which cramp and fetter the march of truth; which to some minds may perhaps seem to set at nought all the signs of good we have been pointing out. Enough there is, truly, of error, falsehood, bigotry, skepticism, mockery, indifference, and Epicurean selfishness, false political and social maxims, treachery, fraud, injustice, violence, oppression, meanness, heartlessness and sin. But, with the experience of the past for our inheritance, and with the precepts of Divine wisdom for our guide, we fear not for man. God is leading him on still, as he led Israel for forty years in the wilderness. "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

Yet our trust is not a blind reliance on the power of truth, or the goodness of Providence. "Truth is mighty, and shall prevail." But she is mighty as the inspirer of man's thought, and the quickener of man's action. She is mighty, because God has created the human soul, faltering, weak and often false though it be, yet with a capacity for truth, and a love of it. And the heart of man goes forth to welcome the truth, as her coming is proclaimed by prophets and holy men and the inspired ones of the race; and her tokens man binds upon him, and pledges himself to her sacred cause, and bears her spotless shield, and in the face of tyranny, error, and wrong, goes on valiantly to fight the battle of God, freedom, and humanity.

The spirit of our age speaks out in many a noble heart and free soul. Men everywhere join hands and hearts in the cause of truth; bearing up together the ark of her sanctuary through the rushing waters, rejoicing together at

every new step of her triumphant march. The age is earnest, and its voice is strong; and it is looking out confidently into the future with glad and prophetic hope. As in the life of the man, so in the life of the race, we trace the conflict and alternate victory of right and wrong. Thought fights its way through doubts, and advances by a succession of spiritual triumphs. "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now;" yet in hope of deliverance. And as, in the fancy of some modern reformer, the pale flashes of the northern lights are the mute sighing and aspiration of suffering nature after the heaven that is shut out from it, so the spirit of the age, the great soul of humanity, is reaching earnestly forward to a good and a glory yet unattained. Our age has given strong utterance to this hope; and in every form of living thought we still hear the prophet-voice that calls us to labor for the future. Prophets may wait long, and the world may wonder why they wait; "yet is their hope full of immortality." J. H. A.

ART. II. — SKETCHES OF THE REFORMERS.*

A BIOGRAPHICAL as well as historical interest belongs to the memorable periods in the world's annals. If, when we look at the threefold province of history, as concerned with events, with men, and with opinions, we pronounce the last its highest department, we certainly shall not regard the second as the lowest. What interest indeed have events for the philosophical observer, except as they reveal the character of agents or the progress of the race? But besides the general stamp of humanity which must be borne on the historian's page, those periods which are signalized by the most remarkable occurrences are also most deeply impressed by the traits of individual character. The men of an age and the events of an age correspond

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* *Sketches of the Lives and Characters of the Leading Reformers of the Sixteenth Century. Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Socinus, Cranmer, Knox.* By EDWARD TAGART, F. S. A., Minister of the Chapel in Little Portland Street, Regent Street. London. 1843. 8vo. pp. 168.

to one another. Often it is difficult to say, whether we owe the age to the men, or the men to the age. Always do we see their mutual dependence and reciprocal action.

Of no point in the history of the world are these remarks more obviously true than of the era of the Reformation, which called forth protest and Protestantism from the bosom of the Romish Church. The men who led on that movement were suited to the time, and in return the time formed the men. We do not see such men now. We sometimes fall in with a poor imitation of their character, — a man of the nineteenth century who tries hard to remind us of Luther or Knox; but the comparison which he is anxious to invite is fatal to his pretensions. The actors in the great Protestant Reformation had a bearing, as well as a work, of their own. We cannot mistake them as we look through the ages. There they stand, the objects of an admiration that *marks* them, while it numbers them among the great ones of the earth.

And yet there was a singular variety of character among those champions of the true cause. How unlike were they, while each seemed to fill the place for which he was needed in a common enterprise. We have often thought that the Reformation constitutes a dramatic period in the flow of the world's affairs, as complete in the parts performed by the different actors as it is perfect in the unity of its subject. Luther, Calvin, Zwingle, Melancthon — to say nothing of others less prominent in position or less decided in opinion, nothing of those who, like Erasmus, remained in the Communion of Rome, though at heart Reformers, and who by retaining their connexion with that Church gave a greater breadth to the drama we are contemplating — taking only those four whom we have named, — how different were they from each other. Luther, impetuous, violent, strong as the surges of the German ocean, yet generous, noble-hearted, and true. Calvin, despotic, narrow, and possessing few of the gentler sensibilities, but thoughtful, studious, and inflexible. Zwingle, wise, laborious, patriotic, and liberal. Melancthon, whose moderation was at once his fault and his glory, who seldom loses our respect, and never our love. Not one of these could have been spared. They occupied different posts in the same onset upon ecclesiastical power and theological error, and

they exhibited the relation of the new faith to the wants of different classes of mind; showing how great was the need of reformation, when it was welcomed by such various intellectual and moral sympathies.

The Reformers of the sixteenth century were not faultless men. They had great faults. Rome need not try to blacken their memories; the truth leaves stains enough upon the characters of some of them. We find it hard to call Calvin a good man. Still they were all extraordinary men, and the least worthy of admiration among them all possessed traits which may claim for him respectful mention, as well as rendered services which entitle him to grateful remembrance. History needs not to exaggerate their virtues, as it should not attempt to hide their defects.

It is for the calm tone of justice in which they are written, that we like Mr. Tagart's "Sketches of the Leading Reformers." They lay no special claim to praise for their literary execution, though they lack not the merit of a graceful style of composition. They enter into no historical inquiries, or critical discussions. They are precisely what the title indicates — *sketches* of the lives and characters of six very remarkable men, whose influence upon Christian opinion is felt in our day, and must be felt to the end of time. The volume contains six Discourses delivered in the chapel of which the writer is the minister, with a few pages of Notes subsequently prepared. The discourses should therefore be examined in view of their original purpose, as designed for the instruction of a promiscuous audience, and as intended to present within the compass of a single lecture such an account of the individual who is the subject of remark as would convey the most instruction to an audience of this kind. Under this view they must certainly be considered successful and useful productions. To the scholar they may appear superficial, or to those who read only for entertainment may seem to be deficient in liveliness; but they who are not familiar with the history of early Protestantism, and who desire just the information which without labor on their part shall give them an insight into the most important movement of modern times, as seen in those by whom it was guided, may find both pleasure and advantage in the perusal of these "Sketches." Some surprise may at first

be felt on not finding the name of Melancthon among "the leading reformers" of his time. But it evidently belonged to Mr. Tagart's plan, to connect the name of each of his characters with the country in which he exerted the most powerful influence in behalf of the Reformation; and therefore allowing himself, by a slight deviation from literal accuracy, to consider Calvin as the representative of the Reformed belief in France, with strict historical propriety he presents Luther, Zwingle, Socinus, Cranmer, and Knox as the fathers of Protestantism in Germany, Switzerland, Poland, England, and Scotland.

He begins with Luther, whom not Germany alone, but all Europe acknowledges as preeminently the champion of the Reformation. Of Luther's great merits and great services it would be as foolish as it would be wrong to speak in terms of disparagement. We should not be disposed to bring his failings into view, if we had not noticed a disposition in others to regard these failings as proper subjects of commendation and imitation. It has become quite the fashion among our modern "reformers," to justify intemperance of language and pertinacity of opinion by adducing the example of Luther. Now if these habits might be excused in him, in consideration either of his position or his temperament, they are just the habits which should be avoided by those who would advance the cause of truth in our day. Foul-mouthed speech is not a virtue, because Luther loaded his opponents with opprobrious epithets, and it does not indicate a particularly refined taste or gentle spirit, to quote on every possible occasion the language in which he clothed the avowal of his determination to appear before the Diet at Worms. To ape the great Reformer's manner and try to place one's self before the present age in his attitude, is simply ridiculous. Luther was violent and coarse, but he was the foremost man of his time, and full of a noble spirit. For men who are as incapable of estimating such nobility of mind as they are of acquiring a similar prominence, to imagine that they can make themselves modern Luthers by violence and coarseness, may be a natural, but it is a very silly mistake. We confess ourselves tired of hearing Luther praised for the very things which should qualify our admiration of his character. Mr. Tagart has shown more of discrimination and justice.

"In his personal controversies, whether with monarchs, as Henry VIII., with the master of literature and learning in his day, as Erasmus, with his brother reformers, as Zwingle or Œcolampadius, or with the Anabaptists and Bohemians, in their wild views and proceedings, ever ardent, ever indefatigable, ever fearless, Luther was not happy or successful. Too eager, too hot, to pay sufficient attention either to his own or to his adversary's reasoning, of his 1,137 compositions, filling four folio volumes, there is scarcely one that is reverted to with deep, general, or permanent interest, or that can now be read with perfect satisfaction, without large allowance for his age, and character, and position. We must admire the prodigious efforts of his industry, but we are confounded by the singular nature of his taste. He was a perfect believer in satanic agency, and in the whole host of pandæmonium. He conceived himself often under the influence of evil spirits, and engaged in personal encounters with them. In the preface to his commentary on the Galatians, where he seems to have been without particular provocation, he says of the Anabaptists, that they were not so much possessed by devils, as devils in themselves. This intemperance of language, impatience at opposition, and vehemence of passion, were his great but only moral faults. Strength or correctness of reasoning, as we now consider it, was not his intellectual forte. With these deductions, however, as a man, a Christian, a minister, a teacher, he was eminently great and good, the hero of his country, age, and calling. Having united himself to a virtuous wife about the fortieth year of his age, he spent happily in the married state the last twenty years of his life. In the private and domestic circle, surrounded by his friends and family, at his homely and frugal board, he is seen to the greatest advantage. There the great and good man, there the noblest actor for the public good, is often seen to most advantage in the eye of affection and of taste. There, cheerful, generous, open, kind, the lover of music, the promoter of social and instrumental harmony, Luther showed himself ready for heaven whilst enjoying earth. Continually conversing with princes — enjoying distinction and influence in courts, with the learned, and with the multitude — one of the most conspicuous men in Europe, — in no single instance does he appear to have turned these advantages to personal account, or worldly interest. Indifference to money, contempt of the terrors of power, disregard even to literary fame with all his acquirements, undaunted courage in the advocacy of what he considered truth, — these were his high and glorious characteristics; the improvement of his fellow-creatures, the diffusion of religious knowledge, the glory of God, — these were the objects nearest and dearest to his heart." — pp. 20, 21.

The admirers of Calvin will find no pleasure in Mr. Tagart's sketch of the Genevan Pope, and we are not sure that the picture which he has drawn should not have been relieved by a few touches to soften the coloring which it now wears. He finds so little in Calvin's character on which he can dwell with satisfaction, that his remarks relate chiefly to the "system, first of Church government and discipline, and secondly, of religious doctrine, in the formation of which the genius of Calvin showed itself most prominently." His personal history is thus briefly sketched.

"Calvin was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in the year 1509, of a family named Cauvin, which he latinized into Calvinus. He was destined originally for the Romish Church, and held a benefice in it at twelve years of age. Disgusted, however, with some of its practices, and imbued with the principles and feelings of the Reformation, he afterwards turned his attention to the civil law, which he studied at Orleans. But he subsequently returned to theology, his first love, and becoming acquainted with some eminent reformers, settled in connexion with them at Paris. There he became acquainted with Servetus, and had some controversy with the learned physician. Being obliged to quit Paris on account of the persecution carried on in France against the Protestants, and being on his way through Geneva, he was persuaded to stay and settle there; and there he died, in the year 1564, his naturally weak constitution being exhausted by incessant labors with the pen and in the pulpit. These are the principal outlines of the life of Calvin. His collected works, consisting, in great part, of commentary on the Old and New Testament, amount to nine volumes folio; and they show him to have been endued with an acute and powerful understanding, enriched with vast theological learning, of strength and clearness in the use of language, equal, if not superior, to any of his time, laborious and persevering to a very high degree. To these qualities, and mainly, perhaps, to a precision of style, and a certain firmness and inflexibility of mind, Calvin owed the preeminence which he obtained over his contemporaries. These qualities gave him so remarkable an authority in his own day, that his opinion was quoted, his advice was asked, in distant countries, and by men of the greatest weight in them, upon the most important and the most minute questions affecting the Church and State." — pp. 29, 30.

In Zwingle Mr. Tagart finds a more attractive theme. "Of all the men," says he, "whose characters and whose principles I have proposed to make the subject of our Sabbath evening reflections, and who took so conspicuous

and influential a part in the great religious movement of the sixteenth century, there is not one whose memory deserves a larger share of honor, whose views and conduct win more lively respect, esteem, and sympathy, than Zwingle's. 'For he was a good man;' good in all the qualities which make a man valuable and beloved in every sphere of duty, and under every form of speculative belief." "The noblest and best," again he pronounces him, "of the men concerned in the Reformation;—in courage, simplicity and truth, inferior to none; in moderation, practical wisdom, liberality and sense, superior to all." The sketch which Mr. Tagart has given of his labors is interesting, but we can only extract a single passage, in which he describes his first celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the simplicity of Protestant worship.

"In conformity with thoughts of this kind, Zwingle took another important step, and this was the abolition of the mass, with its pompous ceremonials, its gorgeous vestments, and consecrated wafers. On Easter Sunday, 1525, a great and striking change was exhibited in his church. A table covered with a white cloth, unleavened bread, and cups filled with wine, recalled the remembrance of the Last Supper of our Redeemer with his disciples. Zwingle announced to the faithful that the religious rite they were about to celebrate would become to each of them the pledge of salvation, or the cause of perdition, according to the dispositions they might bring to it; and he endeavored, by fervent prayer, to excite in all their hearts repentance for past faults, and a resolution to live a new and better life. With his assistants he then distributed the symbols to all the Christians present, who listened with profound attention to the reading of the last words of our Lord, as transmitted by his beloved disciples. A hymn and second prayer terminated the simple but solemn and affecting ceremony. Zwingle was of opinion that to celebrate the Lord's Supper in this manner was to bring it back to its ancient simplicity, and to unite all that could render it useful. The event proved he was not mistaken. The church could scarcely contain the immense crowds that came to participate in the solemnity; and the good works and reconciliations that followed, proved the sincerity of the devotion with which it was attended. We are indebted, therefore, to this pure and good Reformer, after and under the sacred Originator of all our Christian views, for whatever is impressive, whatever is interesting, in our own mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper. He took the lead in restoring the rational and just view of this ordinance; and in the controversies and disputes with Luther

and his Church on this subject, in the personal interview that afterwards took place between them about it, Zwingle showed vast superiority, both in sense and moderation; for while he readily consented to regard the Lutherans as brethren, all that could be obtained from Luther was, that he would moderate for the future his absurd and intemperate language of and towards the Swiss." — pp. 61, 62.

With the history of Socinus our readers, as well as nearly all the rest of the world, are probably less familiar than with the life of either of the other eminent Reformers. So strong has been the prejudice which theological hatred and misrepresentation have raised against his name, that few know anything of his worth. "A Socinian," as Mr. Tagart remarks, "is, in the estimation of many, a synonym for all that is impious in speculation, and flagitious in practice; for all that a devout Christian ought most to shun."

"Who then was Socinus? what were his principles? what his history? It may surprise many who have never troubled themselves to ask these questions, who are content to be hoodwinked and frightened by party epithets and reproachful names, to be told that he was one of the most learned, most pious, most laborious, most self-sacrificing of the men, who, when the Reformation of the 16th century swept like a flood over the continent of Europe, bequeathed to posterity the memory of their principles and their virtues; who left behind them a long and trailing light of intellect and goodness, to illuminate the horizon of human thought, and to purify through sympathy the affections of the human breast; who have erected among the quicksands of error a beacon-light to assist the judgment, direct the course, and sustain the confidence of mankind." — p. 72.

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"If the tree be known by its fruits, the life of Socinus speaks sufficiently for his eminently Christian and worthy character. He will bear comparison with the greatest of his contemporaries, and with those who brand his memory with odium. He who gave up all the temptations of worldly greatness for the sake of religious truth, and religious usefulness, could be no indifferent or unworthy follower of that Saviour who died to bear witness to the truth. He who spent his life in illustrating and developing the meaning of the sacred text, could be no despiser of the word of God. He who took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, counting all things but loss that he might win Christ, — in perils oft, in labors more abundant, who was distinguished by temperance, self-denial, and by amiable conduct in all the rela-

tions of domestic and social life, — may be stigmatized as a heretic, and may be held up to popular odium as the father of blasphemies, but he will find a place in the respect and affection of all those who have minds to appreciate intelligence, and hearts to esteem goodness; nor will he be found altogether wanting when weighed in the balance of eternal justice and eternal truth." — p. 85.

Mr. Tagart does not, however, attempt to gloss over the inconsistency of which Socinus was guilty in the countenance he gave to the persecution of Francis David. This was the one stain on his character which we must deplore. His labors were honorable to him, and great were the sacrifices which he made and the sufferings which he endured. We have room only for one other passage from this lecture.

" Every man in every church who has been distinguished and prominent for uniting with his belief in revealed religion, reasonableness, liberality, and the spirit of a sound mind, for argument without calumny, for faith without bigotry, — who has made the goodness of God, the resurrection of Christ, the hope of immortality, the solemn obligations of virtue, the chief part of his creed, — has been suspected and stigmatized as a follower of Socinus. No other reformer has had so great a compliment paid to his memory. It may well balance a world of censure and reproach. Chillingworth, the immortal defender of Protestantism, was strongly reproached with being a Socinian. Tillotson, the soundest and best archbishop of the English Church, was called a Socinian. The great Christian philosopher, John Locke, was denounced as a Socinian. The learned and liberal Arminians of Holland, who, in the succeeding century, nourished among them the descendants of Socinus, and to whom we are indebted for the published collection of his works, were, of course, included under this ban. The industrious Lardner, the clear-headed Paley, confessedly the most eminent modern defenders of revealed religion, have but followed in Socinus's steps. And what is the reflection, what the inference of the candid mind in considering all this? It is to beware of taking up hasty and prejudiced antipathies against parties and persons without reason, without inquiry. It is to see whether a good thing cannot come out of Nazareth before we consign it to hatred and contempt. It is to look round in every quarter for evidences of the goodness and mercy of God, and of the innocence and virtue of man. It is to rejoice in every proof which we discover that human nature is not so corrupt, that earth is not so black, heaven not so hopeless and exclusive, nor hell so

all-devouring, as in our darkness and selfishness and prejudice we had been disposed to imagine and believe."—pp. 90, 91.

Cranmer presents an example of one whose inconsistencies cause him to be very differently regarded, not only by different writers, but at different periods, as the sympathies of the public mind run in this or that direction. Mr. Tagart's view of his character is sufficiently unfavorable. A single remark is all that we need quote. "Cranmer," says he, "may justly be considered the founder of the English Church; his character and history are a sort of type of what that Church is—a singular mixture of characteristics, of qualities that are worthy of respect with others, of which even the sober admirer will say at least, with Tillotson, 'we could wish we were well rid of them.'"

For his delineation of the character and labors of Knox, Mr. Tagart acknowledges himself indebted chiefly to M'Crie's Life of the Scottish Reformer. We must confine ourselves to the quotation of a single paragraph, which presents a favorable specimen of the author's power of discrimination, and with which we must take leave of a very pleasant book.

"If it be true, that the empire of superstition under Popery was darkest and dreariest in Scotland, our northern and sister kingdom, in no country have the traces of its influence been more completely swept away. No country in Europe is now more rigidly and entirely Protestant. And this is mainly owing, unquestionably, to that one man, whose name and character will form the subject of this hour's meditation, the ardent and solemn Knox: the fitting and the needful agent of a rough and arduous work in a rough and stormy clime, and amongst a people rude and difficult to mould. Knox bore a striking resemblance to Luther in personal intrepidity and in popular eloquence. He approached nearest to Calvin in his religious sentiments, in the severity of his manners, and in a certain impressive air of melancholy which pervaded his character. And he resembled Zwingle in his ardent attachment to the principles of civil liberty, and in combining his exertions for the reformation of the Church with uniform endeavors to improve the political condition of the people. Yet he is not to be placed on a level with this illustrious triumvirate. A peculiar splendor surrounds the great German Reformer, partly arising from the intrinsic heroism of his character, and partly reflected from the interesting position in which his long and doubtful struggle with the court of Rome placed him in the eyes of Europe. He thus not

only ranks first in the race, but is removed at a distance from all who followed in the same glorious career. The Genevan Reformer surpassed Knox in the extent of his theological learning, and the solidity and clearness of his argument. And the Reformer of Switzerland, though inferior to him in powers of declamation and in daring, excelled him in self-command, in prudence, and in that mild, persuasive eloquence, the offspring of a pure and patient goodness, which steals into the heart, persuades without irritating, and governs without commanding. But although he attained not to the eminence of these, I know not, among all the eminent men who appeared at this period, any one who is better entitled than Knox to rank with them, whether we consider the talent he possessed, or the many services which he performed." — pp. 123, 124.

E. S. G.

ART. III. — SONNETS.

JOHN POUNDS.

John Pounds was a poor cobbler, in Portsmouth, England. He was accustomed to collect about him children, enticing them by such simple gifts as his means afforded, and having gained their confidence, he would teach them all that his own humble attainments made practicable. Hundreds of poor boys and girls were made better and happier by his benevolent instructions.

CHRIST in the desert blessed and brake the bread,
And spread it for the thousands, who, that night,
Thronged in his footsteps. Work of spirit-might!
Strong proof of brotherhood with those he fed!
Lo! now, a follower of his glorious Head,
His heart all glowing with its earnest love,
Puts forth a brother's hand, and yearns to prove
How far his little light its rays may shed.
Humble thy station, teacher, and thy name:
Lofty thy efforts — holy thy desire!
Thy gentle smile paled passion's blighting fire,
Thy tender eye beamed kindness to reclaim!
Stern life the desert which surrounded thee;
Christ-like thy love to bless humanity!

USE OF LIFE.

To lie outstretched within some grassy nook,
Beneath the checkered shadowing of the tree,
Weaving thy fancy-webs, — or listlessly
Turning the pages of some favorite book, —
Or happier, conning love-lore in the look
Of the dear girl, who lies with dainty cheek
Pressed on thy shoulder, while her soft lips speak
Thoughts that flow free and pure as mountain brook, —
This is no part for man! — Lo! darkening guilt
Obscures thy brother's soul-light: lusts defile
The holy temple which the Almighty built,
Shrine for his worship. Man is low and vile.
Oh live not then for sloth and idle wooing:
Wake, thou vain dreamer, rouse thee and be doing!

W. A. D.

Art. IV.–ALLEGED DEFECTS OF UNITARIAN PREACHING.

[Delivered as an Address before the Berry Street Ministerial Conference, Boston, May 29, 1844. By Rev. Charles Robinson. — A portion of the introductory remarks is omitted.]

In using the term *alleged*, in this connexion, it is not intended to intimate that the defects which we are about to consider are *mere* allegations, the groundless charges of ignorance and prejudice. Urged against us, as they have long been, by friends, as well as by foes, and reiterated in every tone of regret, ridicule, reproach and sarcasm, it would imply a want of humility and candor, not to acknowledge that they may have some slight foundation, at least, in truth. It will be my object at this time to show how far this is the case. Nor will it be deemed, I trust, wholly unsuitable to the occasion of our present meeting, if we employ the few minutes, which are usually assigned to this exercise, in considering whether the defects alluded to in our subject do really exist, and to what extent; and also to inquire, what remedies, if any, can be applied.

We were never, perhaps, in a more favorable situation for instituting inquiries of this kind, than we are at present.

We are not now obliged, as we once were, to stand wholly upon the defensive. We have ascertained our position. We have vindicated to ourselves a right to exist; have gained for ourselves a place among our sister denominations. We have become a well-established, prosperous, growing sect, and that too without becoming very deeply infected with the spirit of sectarism. Our views are spreading themselves as fast as the community are prepared to receive them. The great principles for which we have contended, — freedom of thought, the rights of the individual conscience, the liberty of prophesying, are, notwithstanding some recent appearances to the contrary, steadily progressive — are gaining a stronger and stronger hold upon the general mind, and are destined, we believe, essentially to modify the opinions and feelings of the whole Christian world. What we have now to do, is not to settle principles, but to apply them; to endeavor, first of all, to enter into the spirit, the full significance of the sublime, soul-renewing, soul-gladdening truths to which we have attained; to translate them into our own experience and illustrate them in our lives, and then to urge them home upon the hearts and consciences of others, with earnestness, sincerity, fervor and power.

And herein it is, that we are thought to be most deficient. Unitarian preaching is said to be cold and lifeless, wanting in interest and efficacy, wanting in power over the affections, wanting in those solemn and fervid appeals, which touch the heart, awaken the conscience, rouse all the religious sensibilities of our nature. This is an old complaint; yet it comes up from so many different quarters, and is so often repeated, that we cannot refuse to give it a hearing. Admitting then, that it is not wholly groundless, that there is room for improvement here, and need of it, I still maintain, that whatever may have been the case in former times, the charge of coldness and lifelessness is not one to which the Unitarian preaching of the present day is peculiarly liable. I believe that much of the ablest and most effective preaching in the world is now to be heard in many of our Unitarian pulpits. Indeed, it is a subject of frequent remark, that Unitarian preaching is everywhere becoming more serious, more evangelical and spiritual, in the right sense of the words, more animated

and soul-stirring. And this is certainly the case; nor, in this regard, do we fall a whit behind those who claim for themselves a monopoly, not only of all the true light, but of all the vital warmth of religion.

Still it cannot be denied that dulness is a besetting sin of the pulpit, and has been from the days of Chrysostom to the present time. "Dull as a sermon," "tedious as a homily," are phrases which have become proverbial in every language throughout Christendom. For a defect so universal, there must be some universal and permanent cause. And it will be found to lie, partly in the subjects which we handle, partly in the materials upon which we act, and partly in ourselves. Our concern now is solely with ourselves, and with ourselves especially as a distinct class of preachers. Without apologizing, then, for indolence and unfaithfulness, which seldom, I believe, exist, I aver again, that our preaching is better than the average, and better in the very point which we are now considering, possessing a more true and hearty fervency both in spirit and manner. It is not, of course, to be expected that we should all be eloquent orators. It is not in the power of some of us to be. We want the requisite gifts, talents, temperament. Nor can we, at all times, discharge our public duties with the same degree of satisfaction either to ourselves, or to others. They recur at such short intervals, and overtake us in such different states of body and of mind, that to be always equally fresh in feeling, novel in illustration, and energetic in enforcement, is next to impossible. The whole head is sometimes sick, and the whole heart faint, yet the preparations for the pulpit — the full tale of brick must be forthcoming, whether straw can be found or not. And this necessity which is laid upon us to prepare a new discourse for the coming sabbath, or what is harder still, to raise an old one from its grave, often haunts us through the week like a guilty conscience, and troubles our very dreams. And who, among the most gifted of us, are able, on every occasion, in our performances, to work ourselves up to a desired degree of interest, animation, and engagedness? Indeed we should not work ourselves up at all. The warmth we need, should come spontaneously, if it come at all. It should be the result of solemn, earnest, prayerful meditation; the offspring of a faith which clothes

its objects with life and reality, which brings the remote near, and renders the unseen present and visible. Like the prophet of old, we should speak in the name of the Lord, not because we must, but because we cannot help it. "His word is in my heart," should be the feeling of each one of us. "His word is *in* my heart, like a burning fire shut up in my bones. I am weary with forbearing. I cannot refrain." This is the kind of fervor we need, — not wrought up for the occasion, not caught from sympathy, not an excitement of the nerves, — but the genuine fervor of a believing and earnest spirit, of a heart that is filled and glowing with the love of God, of truth, of virtue, of souls. This is the only warmth which is not factitious, and can never be quenched. It is a species of inspiration; and if we have enough of it, we can never be formal and frigid in our ministrations.

After all, I am free to confess, that I do not consider dulness — a tolerable degree of dulness — as the worst attribute of preaching. Extravagance and exaggeration are worse; a false enthusiasm is worse; an artificial and self-begotten excitement is worse; a flippant sentimentalism is much worse. Indeed the doubt has arisen in many minds, whether what is called *exciting* preaching is, on the whole, and in the long run, the most profitable. Its immediate effects may be obvious and striking; but the impression which it produces is often superficial, and soon passes away; and when after a long course of such preaching we come to inquire for the fruits, they are frequently found to be anything but those of the spirit, "goodness, and righteousness, and truth." Besides, such preaching is too apt to be sought for and rested in as an end. It is too apt to be depended upon, not as a means of grace, but as grace itself and ministering grace to the hearers, whether applied and improved by them or not. The strong emotion, the glow of feeling which it awakens, is thought, in many cases, to be all that is needed, is made a substitute for watchfulness, prayer, and personal effort; so that it is by no means an uncommon thing, to find faith dying out, and morality and vital godliness running to a low ebb, in those churches which are blessed with the most powerful ministrations.

It cannot be denied, I think, that some of the most use-

ful ministers among us, some who have the strongest hold upon the affections of their people, who remain the longest in their places, and the influence of whose labors is the most permanent and beneficial, are what may be considered dull preachers. They make no noise; they produce little or no excitement. They feed their flocks with wholesome, but unstimulating food. Their speech drops upon them like the rain, and distils like dew, and after many days the effect of their labors is seen, in the silent and unobserved growth of the Christian virtues and graces, among those to whom they minister. Such facts, and they are numerous, almost lead us to call in question the value of what is so much prized and coveted, at the present day, namely, the power, in a minister, of intensely interesting and exciting his auditory.

Let us covet the best gifts, but let us not be over-anxious to be thought powerful and stirring preachers. Let us not be tempted, for the sake of present effect, to resort to modes of appeal and influence which are not accordant with our tastes and feelings, merely because they are seen to be so effective in other hands. Why should we hanker after a system of measures, which those who have tried it the most effectually, and have witnessed its results, are now the foremost to repudiate and condemn? Why should we, any one of us, wish to put on the cast-off garments of Orthodoxy? We have a mission of our own to fulfil, and it is different, in some respects, from that of any other class of Christians. It is ours to act upon the intellect of the people, upon their moral and religious *ideas*, and, through these upon their sensibilities and sympathies. We know not how to persuade, till we have first enlightened and convinced. All craft therefore and management, all attempts to produce an unhealthy excitement of feeling, are quite out of place with us. It belongs to us not to yield to any of the morbid tendencies of the times, but to do as much as in us lies to resist and check them. We have from the beginning maintained an attitude, at once reformatory and conservative; recognizing and adopting the great principle of progress, yet reverencing and holding fast to all that is true and good in old opinions and usages. Let us still maintain this attitude, and be willing to forego all those modes of appeal and means of influence, however

effective they may be thought, which we cannot use in entire good faith, and which, whatever they may be in other hands, can be with us little else than a species of empiricism. Let us not give into any practices, which are felt to be inconsistent with what may be called the spirit and genius of our sect. The time is far distant, I trust, when there will be any essential departure from the honesty and fair dealing, the good sense, the correct taste, the sober practical wisdom, the sound and healthy moral tone, which have so long and so honorably distinguished the Unitarian pulpit. Let us be true to our mission; let us adhere faithfully to our distinctive peculiarities, laboring, as best we may, to unfold, illustrate, enforce and apply the great vital truths embodied in our faith, and we shall be able, with the blessing of God, to build up, in fair proportions and symmetrical form, a true Christian temple.

Another alleged defect of Unitarian preaching which I shall briefly notice, is that it is too scholastic, refined, and elevated, moving in a sphere far above the sympathies and comprehension of the large majority of those to whom it is addressed. This is, unquestionably, a characteristic fault of much of our preaching, and the chief cause, perhaps, why it is so deficient in interest and attractiveness, at least for the multitude. If you will look around upon any of our congregations, while in the act of listening to, or rather I should say *sitting out*, one of our carefully elaborated and well-written discourses, and then observe the same assembly when addressed by some popular lecturer, who pours out his fervid thoughts in rude and homely phrase, without much regard to method or connexion, but with a full-souled sincerity and earnestness, — in the dulness, apathy and yawning listlessness which you will notice in the one case, and the animated, eager, excited attention which is given in the other, you will see a better illustration than I can possibly furnish of the nature and causes of the defect which we are now considering. I allow, that we must and ought, in our preparations for the pulpit, to aim, first of all, to satisfy ourselves; to be true, that is, to our own judgment and tastes; to do our utmost, on every occasion, to come up to our own ideal of excellence. But may it not be, that we are somewhat too fastidious in our tastes, that we have set up to ourselves, not a too lofty, but an unsuit-

able standard of excellence? Is it not the case, that we make too much account of mere correctness; that we attach an undue importance to the literary character of our performances; that we are more particular and nice, than need be, in regard to the elegancies and amenities of thought and expression? When we sit down, in our studies, to compose a sermon, are we not too apt to bring before ourselves, not the rude and ignorant, who form so large a proportion of every congregation, but the few professional men, the few critical and discriminating minds who may belong to our auditory, and to write *to* the latter, rather than to the former? And is not this one of the reasons why our ministrations are thought to be so wanting in popular interest and effect?

Did we consider how few there are in any of our societies who are able to appreciate the literary merits of a discourse, — how utterly insensible the great majority are to all the refinements and graces of style and diction, we should be less solicitous about these things ourselves, and more studious to adapt ourselves to the condition and wants of the common mind. May not preaching, without losing any of its dignity, assume more directness, become more free, easy, and familiar in its tone, be brought into closer and more living contact with the associations and feelings of the great mass of our hearers? Is it not possible to unite elevation, nay, even profoundness of thought with such familiarity of illustration and simplicity of style and language, that it shall be on a level with the humblest minds, while it shall minister instruction, comfort, and edification to the most refined and cultivated? Such was certainly the character of our Saviour's preaching. While he uttered the grandest, the sublimest thoughts which ever entered human conception, thoughts whose depth and significancy have never yet been fully penetrated, he always clothed them in the very plainest attire; he always addressed himself to the common mind; his images and illustrations were always familiar without being mean, were drawn from the commonest objects, from the birds of the air and the lilies of the field. We never find him using a hard word or making a learned allusion. We never find him running into vague generalities or metaphysical refinements. On the contrary, he was always simple, direct,

popular; and "the common people heard him gladly." It is melancholy to think how many able and beautiful discourses are almost lost, wasted, in consequence of the fault which we are now considering. By aiming too high they overshoot the mark altogether. They rise often and soar with a rocket-like brilliancy, producing no other effect but to awaken a momentary admiration.

And here I cannot help observing in regard to preaching, not to ours in particular, but to preaching in general, that it would be much better than it is, and vastly more effective, if there were a more entire absence from the minds of those who officiate, of all thought of self, of all desire of self-display; if there were a more entire singleness of purpose and aim, having reference solely to the glory of God, and the salvation of sinners; if there were a more entire self-absorption, if I may so express myself, in one deep, awful feeling of responsibleness. If I should venture to name what seems to me one of the most striking defects in the modern pulpit, I should say, that it is vain, ambitious, egotistical, and self-seeking in the extreme; that it is, in many cases, little more than a theatre for self-exhibition. There is, I have often thought, among many of our preachers of the present day, a sad want of what Fenelon calls Christian simplicity, self-forgetfulness, self-abandonment, an overlooking and losing of themselves in the greatness and importance of their subject. They doubtless wish to do good, to promote virtue and dissuade from vice; but they wish also to sustain and heighten their reputation, to draw attention to themselves. In the composition and delivery of their sermons there is too often an evident desire to shine, to excite admiration. They are not willing to preach Christ only, but they must preach themselves, in part, likewise. They covet usefulness, but they covet popularity too, and usefulness, sometimes, it is to be feared, as a means of popularity. And what they seek they obtain. They have their reward, but is it such as the Christian teacher should be most anxious to secure?

Every profession has its dangers and temptations, and this unquestionably is the exposed side of ours. We would win souls to Christ, but we would also win favor and applause to ourselves. And it is the having of this two-fold object before us, it is this complexity of motive and aim,

which does more than any thing else, I think, to weaken the effect of our ministrations, and to prevent us from receiving that full blessing upon them which we might otherwise hope to receive. This, I repeat, is our weak side. Here we need to be most upon our guard. We should watch and pray against this our infirmity, our characteristic and besetting sin. Let us strive to keep our "eye single," looking to but one end, the fulfilment of our ministry, by bringing sinners to repentance. And as it will sometimes happen, while composing a sermon, that certain turns of thought or expression will present themselves to our minds, which seem to us particularly brilliant and happy, calculated to draw attention to ourselves — when this is the case, let us sacrifice them without mercy. We need more of the spirit of old Chrysostom, who, on receiving a burst of applause from his hearers, exclaimed, "What mean these acclamations, these empty plaudits, which I hear? I wish to be rewarded not by your praises, but by your conversion. This is the reward I wish to derive from my discourses, and this is all my ambition. I prefer your conversion to a kingdom." It is the mark of a truly good preacher, says one, that while he is actually preaching, the hearer does not think of him at all, that is, does not consider whether he speaks well, has talents, learning, refinement, gracefulness, but is wholly engrossed by the subject of the discourse and the impression it makes on his mind and heart, and goes his way to meditate and pray, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. Let a worthier ambition be ours, than to be to our hearers like the song of one who "hath a very pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument," whose words they receive and applaud, and that is the end of it. But that is not the end of it, either to them or to us. A day of reckoning is coming, when inquisition will be made, not only how they have heard, but how we have preached. Then a single soul, saved by our faithfulness from death, will be deemed a richer recompense than the most brilliant reputation which minister or mortal ever gained.

There is still another defect in much of our preaching, which, though not peculiar to ourselves, may merit a moment's consideration. It not only dwells too much in the region of abstraction, of vague generalities, but it does

not propose to itself a sufficiently distinct and definite object. We are too apt, I suspect, to look upon our congregations as a set of orderly, well-behaved, moral people, who need improvement, who need a larger measure of the Christian virtues and graces, who need to be somewhat more devout and spiritually-minded, and that is all. Whereas we have too much reason to believe, with regard to most of them, that they have not yet breathed even the first breath of the spiritual life; that they are wholly destitute of all true faith and vital godliness; that they need to be made over anew. They need repentance, conversion, regeneration, as much as did those to whom the Gospel was first addressed. They lack not one thing only, but everything that is peculiar and distinctive in the Christian life. They are spiritually dead; dead to all the higher objects, aims, interests, and hopes of their being; and they must be made alive. They must be awakened, aroused, made to feel their destitution and danger, made to feel that it is not the grosser vices alone which destroy the soul and disqualify it for heaven, but that worldliness, indifference, selfishness, thoughtlessness, frivolity, vanity, pride, ambition, avarice, will have the same fatal effect. Let them be taught that conversion is not a doctrine for felons only, but that it is equally necessary to the sober and decent worldling, to sinners of steady habits and respectable characters, to those who are "lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God;" that all such must pass through a change as mighty, a moral crisis as marked and striking, as our Saviour had in his thoughts when he said, "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Let there be this plain, close dealing with our hearers. Let the great sanctions, the awful alternatives of the Gospel be urged home upon their minds and hearts, with those searching, probing appeals which penetrate and alarm the conscience; and they will feel no disposition to criticise, or compliment the preacher, but will go their ways "pricked in the heart, saying, men and brethren, what shall we do."

A voice is yet to issue from the pulpit, a winning, awakening, warning voice, of power to break the spell which worldliness, indifference and unbelief have fastened upon the minds of men; to rouse them to a sense of their spiritual dangers and needs; to raise them from the grave of

sense and sensuality to a vivid apprehension of things unseen and eternal, to a true, living, spiritual faith, to that love of God and imitation of his perfections, which is the resurrection and life. Let this voice be lifted up in all our pulpits, and the kingdom of God will come with power.

That this end may be realized, our preaching must become more direct, circumstantial, discriminating; it must be brought home more directly to the business and bosoms of men; more into contact with every point in the whole circle of their welfare, of their daily wants, duties, trials, pursuits and pleasures. It must be more adapted to that want of the age, which demands apt and pithy thought, vivid illustration, cogent argument and appeal, rather than well-turned periods. Our sermons must not be such as might have been written a quarter of a century ago. They must breathe the spirit, bear the form and pressure of the present day. They must be drawn less from books in our studies, less from the treasured stores of our minds, and more from our own personal experience and observation, more from what we have actually felt ourselves, and from what we have seen of the condition and wants of the living world around us. Let such be the character of our preaching, and it will produce greater and better results than we have yet witnessed from it.

Above all, what we most need to give full efficacy to our ministrations, is more faith ourselves; a more earnest and living faith, a deeper conviction of the reality of what we teach and inculcate. We must be able to say, when we speak of religion, of the efficacy of prayer, of the duties, dangers, trials, joys and hopes of the Christian life, "We speak that which we do know, and testify that which we have seen." Through him who hath this *faith of experience*, a faith resting upon a firm historical basis, but transformed by the affections into a living sentiment, a kind of personal consciousness, the word preached will be quick and powerful to awaken the careless, to convince the skeptical, to convert sinners, and to establish believers in everlasting consolation and good hope through grace. God grant that we may possess and exercise more of this faith! May the great Shepherd of the sheep give us all grace to be faithful, and enable us so to dispense the truths of his word, as to save ourselves and those who hear us!

ART. V.—THE APOCALYPSE.

THE book of "The Revelation" has never been satisfactorily interpreted. This failure, however, has not been owing to neglect and indifference. Men of profound learning and of shining talent, in the different ages and countries of Christendom, have zealously, and with sanguine expectations of success, attempted the work of Apocalyptic exposition. To what, then, is it owing, that this portion of the Bible remains unexpounded? We suggest that the book has been made too much of. Interpreters have thought to obtain from it knowledge which it does not contain. They have attributed to it the character of *prospective history*; have thought that it reveals the future as history records the past, that it is particular and chronological, having dates and periods which definitely designate "the times and the seasons" of the future. We conceive this to be an entire mistake. God, evidently, in our view, has never intended that Christians should foreknow them. "Secret things belong to the Lord our God," being "kept in his own power." There is, however, a strong tendency in human nature to grasp at the future; to anticipate the occurrences of Divine Providence; to employ Scripture as the organ of prescience; to interpret the general as being particular; to understand chronological terms of indefinite import as being strictly and literally exact. It is a significant fact, and worthy of consideration, that the chronological terms of Scripture prophecy are either *round*, *popular numbers*, or *even parts* of such numbers. Seven, ten, twelve, a thousand, etc. are round, popular numbers, which in language of general description have an indefinite import. "I will yet punish you seven times for your sins" does not, obviously, signify any definite number of times. "Seven times" were to pass over the king of Babylon, while in a state of insanity; these times may be understood as being either moons or years. A moon is "a time" as much as a year; and men reckoned time by moons ages sooner than they reckoned it by years. The "seven times" is an expression as indefinite as the terms, "for a while," "for a season," "for a time." The "times, time and the dividing of time" is just half of *seven*

times, and is wholly indefinite. Understood as years it is equivalent to forty and two months; to 1260 days. These are but the three times and a half expressed in the terms of a lower denomination. The "seven churches," "seven stars," "seven golden candlesticks," "seven seals, vials, trumpets and angels" cannot reasonably be understood as signifying any definite number. Nor the "twelve foundations," "twelve gates," "twelve precious stones;" nor the double of twelve, and the square of twelve; the "twenty-four elders;" the "hundred and forty-four thousand cubits," and "sealed servants of God." All these, evidently, are terms of indefinite import. "And she shall have tribulation ten days," denotes no specific length of time. The "three days and a half," during which the dead bodies of the witnesses should lie unburied in the streets, is another instance of the half of seven. It probably expresses no specific term of duration.

It is expressly and repeatedly declared that all the events recognized and described in the "Revelation" should "shortly" and "quickly" come to pass. This is indefinite. And all the chronology of the book is, manifestly, of the same description. The imagery employed is taken from the Old Testament, and by it, of course, it should be explained. The Apocalyptic beasts are taken from the visions of Daniel; so, likewise, the description of the Alpha and Omega. The "throne set in heaven" with its glorious incumbent is, with variation, Ezekiel's "cherubim, wheels, and sapphire stone." The New Jerusalem of John is the mystical city of the prophet; the sealed book of the former is but the roll of the latter transferred. The locusts are taken from Joel. The two witnesses, the two anointed ones, and the two olive trees, are taken from Zechariah. The wanton, gorgeously arrayed woman, from Ezekiel. The descriptions of incomparable earthly felicities, from the prophet Isaiah.

Commentators on Scriptural prophecy have never been able to make it available on the subject of foreknowledge, in regard to the greatest and most important particular occurrences, changes, and revolutions which have taken place. The conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity, under Constantine; the demolition of this empire by the barbarous nations of Northern Europe; the rise of the Papacy and of Mahommedanism; the advent of

the Ottoman power; the fall of the Greek Empire of Constantinople; the overthrow of the Saracenic dynasties; the empire of the Mogul; the Protestant Reformation; the French Revolution; no one of these was anticipated by the light of Biblical prophecy. And judging of the future from the past, no important, individual event will be chronologically foreseen and foreshown by the same light. It is an *ignis fatuus*, existing in the brain of the interpreter, but not in the oracles of God.

But if we will lay aside the idea that the prophecy contained in the Bible is particular and chronological; if we will regard it as *generical*, denoting *kinds* of things, not *individual* things, we may turn it to some good account for our encouragement and instruction. Perhaps but the smaller part of the predictions of the Jewish prophets have been strictly, individually, and chronologically fulfilled. In order to render Scriptural prophecy applicable to any events yet future, a new and an arbitrary import is forced upon words which designate space of time. "A day must be the exponent of a year." But the prophets themselves, evidently, had no conception of this. Jeremiah predicted seventy years for the Chaldean captivity; Isaiah, seventy years for the desolation of Tyre; Ezekiel, forty years for the depopulation of Egypt; and three hundred and ninety years during which the house of Israel should bear their iniquity, which he symbolized by lying for the same number of days upon one side, and then turning upon his other side and lying forty days to signify the same number of years for the house of Judah. Isaiah also walked naked and barefoot for the space of three years as a type of the captivity and deportation of Egyptians and Ethiopians by the king of Assyria: Jonah preached to the people of Nineveh that within forty days the city should be overthrown. Did he mean forty years? This will not be pretended. Nor can it, on any better premises, be maintained that the Jewish prophets understood the art of using the term day, in the sense of year. We might as reasonably convert spans into cubits, and cubits into furlongs: pence into shekels, and shekels into talents. The plain fact is, that the sacred writers use denominational terms in their proper significations. By the denomination pence, they intend pence: by cubit, they mean cubit: and by day, they mean day, not year.

The book of the Apocalypse was, probably, written either in one of the very last portions of the first century, or during the first quarter of the second. The mind of the Christian community was then deeply interested on the subject of the return — advent of Jesus Christ. This belief had been long entertained. The author of the Apocalypse, possessing strong and splendid powers of association and creative conception, devoted his mind to the contemplation of this subject. The obvious design of the work was to describe that course of events which should usher in "the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven; the kingdom which should be given to the saints, who should possess it forever and ever." The vision extends to the consummation. This, however, he believed to be near; its arrival extended but a short distance into the future. His commission was to reveal "things which should shortly be." The Lord Jesus would come quickly; "for the time is at hand."

The book, manifestly, is addressed to the Christian community. The "seven churches" represent all the churches. The "angels" of these churches are the personifications of the churches themselves. The seven epistles address the churches as individuals. The angel and the church are identified. They contain counsels adapted to the moral condition of the churches severally. Some of them retained their purity and faithfulness, for which they are commended. Others had degenerated into stupidity and lukewarmness; some had embraced Gnostic sentiments, and are accused of having committed constructive fornication and idolatry. They are exhorted to repentance. The richest promises are given to all the constant and dutiful.

Then follow the prophetic visions. As the epistles are written in a gorgeous diction, the visions are on a splendid scale of pictorial representation. There is a series of them, one succeeding another. But they are not strictly chronological; one does not begin where the preceding one ended. Nor does the first one commence at a point so early as some of the others. Several of them reach to the consummation. We are repeatedly brought down to the fulness of time, to the period of the restitution of all things; but are soon, by the introduction of another vision, taken back to by-gone times for the purpose of being apprized of

another distinct train of events. Thus there sometimes seem to be disorder and discrepancy, there being many distinct exhibitions, but not following each other in the order of time.

The fourth and fifth chapters are of an introductory character. They have their prototype in the first and the tenth chapters of Ezekiel. There is, however, this difference; the prophet stood upon the earth and saw above him, in the firmament, the brightness, the cherubim, the living creatures and the wheels. But the "revelator" is carried up to heaven and stood on the upper side of the firmament, and there saw the immaculate and burning throne, and the Holy One, having a rainbow about his head, sitting upon the throne, surrounded by the seven spirits of God, and four living creatures, each of whom had six wings — the cherubim of Ezekiel and the seraphim of Isaiah — full of eyes within, and four and twenty seats upon which sat the same number of elders, clothed in white and having crowns of gold upon their heads. And the living creatures and the elders were employed in prostrations of humility and ascriptions of thanksgiving and glory, before him, and to him, who sat upon the throne and who liveth forever and ever. We may receive this as being the ideal of heaven, then entertained by Christians and Jews.

The revelator — as the author of the book has been called — saw in the hand of him on the throne, a little book; a parchment-roll, written within and sealed with seven seals. This book contained, in symbols and hieroglyphics, the revelations to be made. Six of the seals are opened in rapid succession and develop the emblems of victory, of war, of famine, of pestilence, of persecution, of martyrdom and the glory which follow to the subjects of it. The breaking of the sixth seal discloses the catastrophe of the world; the earth is shaken to pieces by an earthquake, the sun becomes black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon as blood; the heavens are rolled up as a scroll, and every mountain and island moved out of their places. This brings us to the time of the end. The kings of the earth and great men, every bondman and every freeman, seek to hide themselves in dens and among the rocks. They can retain their places no longer.

Here ends the first vision from the roll, and the second

commences. The seventh seal being loosened, a new series of events is exhibited. Seven angels appear, each with a trumpet. The sounding of the trumpet — in the times of Scripture-history — was the signal for great and interesting events. It was like the ringing of bells in modern times. People were *assembled* by the sound of the trumpet. Armies commenced battle at the sound of the trumpet. They also ceased from battle at the same signal. The year of Jubilee was ushered in with blowing "the great trump;" by the sounding of trumpets in all parts of the land at the same time. People, also, were collected by sound of trumpet on occasions of humiliation and solemnity. "Blow ye the trumpet in Zion; proclaim a fast; call a solemn assembly." The Apocalyptic trumpets are the signals chiefly of calamities and defeat to the adversaries of Christianity. Men had shed the blood of God's saints, and it was the Divine determination to humble them by sore and intense judgments. But, previously, the servants of Jesus Christ must be sealed in their foreheads; — as Ezekiel saw, in vision, the faithful of Jerusalem sealed, before that city was destroyed; and as the houses of the Israelites were sealed with blood, when the angel of death passed through, smiting the first-born of Egypt.

The first four angels sound their trumpets in rapid succession, the blasts of which are followed by emphatic symbols of war, bloodshed, overthrow, confusion, failure of resources and severe distress. There is hail mingled with blood; a burning mountain is cast into the sea, and causes the death of every living creature in it; a great star, named "Wormwood," falls upon the earth and turns its waters into bitterness; the sun, moon and stars are smitten with an eclipse. Though the whole seven are judgment-trumpets, yet the last three, being eminently such, are, by commentators, usually denominated woe-trumpets. Of them we have a much longer and more minute description. At the sound of the fifth trumpet, the bottomless pit is opened, out of which immense swarms of locusts are cast forth, like those described by the prophet Joel, who represents them as an army, moving in strong columns, with a great noise, as if made by the tramp of horses and the rolling of the wheels of war-chariots. These insects, in all ages, have occasionally been an aggravated scourge to the countries

bordering on the Arabian peninsula. These locusts of the Apocalypse are said to have been commissioned "to continue five months," the whole of that part of the year in which they make their appearance. This was an extraordinary case, and denotes the intensity of the judgment. At the sound of the sixth trumpet, a voice commands that the four angels, bound in the river Euphrates, be loosed. The word angel, having a very wide and indefinite import, but including the general idea of a messenger or agent of the Divine Will, may here be understood as signifying nations, living or sojourning in the great valley of that celebrated river. Their military character, movements, conquests and slaughters, are graphically described. By the fire, smoke and brimstone, which proceeded out of their mouths, was a third part of men killed. For the blast of the seventh trumpet much introductory preparation is made. As the true servants of God were sealed before any trumpet sounded, so now previously to the sounding of the last of the seven, the true temple and sanctuary are "measured." There seems to be, here, an allusion to the custom in ancient Egypt of measuring lands and setting up the monuments of demarcation, immediately before the annual inundation. Thus the boundaries were preserved. And as the true divisions of lands in the valley of the Nile were preserved against the sweeping force of the inundations by means of admeasurement and monumental fixtures, so the truths of the Gospel of Christ, and a generation of holy men, are preserved through seasons of the greatest calamities and persecutions. *Individuals* are slain, but their *character* is perpetuated in others. The martyrs have a resurrection in the persons of their disciples. There may be great corruptions of doctrine, yet the simple truth itself remains uncorrupt. The witnesses of truth, as it is in Jesus, have had power to prophesy in the darkest and most "troublous times." And though the witnesses are slain, and their dead bodies lie unburied in the streets of the great city of corruption, for the space of three days and a half — the greatest even part of a week, yet the truth to which they bear testimony is indestructible, and when its witnesses of one generation are put to death, they will soon re-appear in the individuals of another. As truth is immortal, there is, likewise, an immortality of those who attest and defend it.

The visions of this book are not merely scenic, but also dramatic. The author not only sees pictures and emblems, but he likewise hears noises, voices and sentences. There is an angel-interpreter who often speaks. Different visions occupy the same ground; some being more general, others more particular. We may compare them to a series of maps of the same continent or country. The first map contains only the outline and general divisions; the second has the subdivisions and principal rivers of each country; the third map is yet more particular; and the fourth, minuter still. Such are the visions of the Apocalypse. The first are general; the subsequent ones more of a partial, or particular character. The seven seals include the whole book. The seventh seal being opened, all the volume is disclosed; it brings us forthwith down to the time of the end. The seventh trumpet, also, brings us to the same final period; as, also, does the seventh vial. And yet it is not by a continuous repetition. There are different symbols; and they adumbrate a diversity of events of the same time.

The seventh trumpet is sounded after considerable preparation. The events that follow are very briefly, yet magnificently, described. The particulars are reserved for the seven vials, into which this trumpet seems to be resolved. But there is one intervening exhibition. We are taken back to times and things of a previous date. The woman, and the man-child, the dragon, the first and the second beasts, and the image of the first beast, are brought before us in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters. In the woman we recognize the true church of God; in the man-child Christianity; in the dragon the spirit of evil, especially as it acted through the agency of government in opposing and persecuting evangelical truth. In the first beast we recognize a state making strenuous and cruel efforts to sustain the cause of a false or effete religion, and to suppress Christianity. The second beast is the coadjutor of the first. He teaches and forces men to worship the first beast. He is called the false prophet, and by this designation is recognized in a corrupt priesthood. The beast and the false prophet sustain each other. They constitute the twofold tyrannies of Church and State.

It is not necessary for our purpose — which is not to

furnish a commentary on the Apocalypse, but only a few hints — to proceed any further in detail. The cardinal position we would advance is this, — that we should regard the prophecy of the book, not as foretelling *particular* events and the order of them, but the *kind* of things which would happen. They are predicated on general grounds. The tendencies in the world, both the natural and the moral, are always the same. Those whose minds are most illuminated on the subject of these tendencies, can look farthest into the future. What *shall be* is generally known from what has been. The revelator makes use of the records of God's past dispensations to descry those which are yet to come. As He had hitherto defended and preserved his church, and had promised never to forsake it, He would continue to bestow upon it his paternal care. He had made bare his arm on its behalf. And the interpositions of the past were an earnest of those yet to be made. The style and the imagery of the book are adopted from the Prophets. In no other portion of the New Testament have we such an example; such an imitation, of Hebraistic phraseology. The splendor and affluence of Isaiah and Habakkuk are renewed.

The date of the book of the "Revelation" is, as we have already said, obviously uncertain. It may have been produced in some of the very last years of the first century, but more probably in the first half of the second. It is evident that persecution had now raged to a very considerable extent. The case of the martyrs is frequently brought into view. It is, moreover, evident that the principal design of the book was to sustain and encourage the faith and patience of the martyr. It is the stedfast martyr who is to walk in white with a crown of gold upon his head. The souls of them who had been slain for the testimony which they held, were to sit upon thrones of judgment, to live and to reign with Christ a thousand years.

Another indication that the Apocalypse was written at a considerably later period than the other books of the New Testament, is the attention here given to the heresy of the Gnostics. These make no figure in Christian history until the second and third centuries. Two or three of the seven churches addressed in the Apocalypse are reproved for entertaining this doctrine; one or two more are commended for rejecting it.

Dionysius of Alexandria, in the first half of the third century, says it was written by John, a holy and inspired man; not John the Apostle, but an elder, who also lived at Ephesus. Ignatius, the martyr, who wrote his epistles about A. D. 107, was obviously ignorant of this book. And yet Ignatius was personally acquainted with Polycarp, the disciple of the Apostle John. Michaelis says that it was almost universally considered as not the work of St. John, by the members of the Greek Church at the end of the fourth century. But whether written by John the Apostle, or John the Elder, it is an admirable production. The mantle of the prophets manifestly rested upon the author. He took for his guide the facts and predictions contained in the records of God's former communications to his people. The starting point, however, with him, was the energetic declaration, — "This same Jesus whom ye have seen ascend, shall come again in like manner as ye have seen him go up into heaven," — taken in connection with the repeated declarations of the Lord Jesus Christ himself, that the Son of Man should come, — come in the clouds of heaven, come with power and great glory, all the angels of God attending him.

A further reason for a later date of the "Revelation" than of the other books of the New Testament, appears in the difference of opinion contained in it respecting *the time* of the second advent. Christians of the first century expected the very speedy appearance of their Lord and Saviour. In a manner, they looked for it every day. Gradually, however, they adopted the opinion that certain important passages of prophecy were to be previously fulfilled. This opinion became stronger and stronger as the time was prolonged. The number of unfulfilled prophecies grew and multiplied. Though the revelator pronounces the time to be at hand, yet he does not mean *immediately*. There must necessarily be a considerable length of time for the occurrence of the numerous and important events noted in the book which he composed. The Apostle Paul taught that the resurrection of the righteous dead would be the point of division between the earthly and the heavenly state; between the kingdom mortal and the kingdom immortal. The revelator introduces the kingdom of God. But he does not — not clearly, if at all—

recognize the event of a physical resurrection. He declares *a first* resurrection, but does not give the difference between this first resurrection and any other from which he distinguishes it. He declares no second resurrection, or general one. Of what description, then, must we conclude his first resurrection to be? Is it physical or moral? We incline to the conclusion that it is of the latter description; that it is *moral.* He says, "And I saw thrones, and they" — the souls of them who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus — "sat upon them, and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years. But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection." At the end of the thousand years he sees "a great white throne, and him that sat thereon, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book, the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things written in the book, according to their works." The scene is evidently transferred from Daniel vii: 10. "The judgment was set and the books were opened." Few, if any, believe that Daniel's prophecy extends into the immortal state; and probably the scene of the "Revelation" extends no further than that of Daniel. Both, then, are limited to the present world. But the immortal state is not earthly. This world, from the very constitution of it, is full of change, revolution, mortality. The resurrection-state is not here. The Apocalypse, however, leaves the saints of God upon the earth. And although it is declared that God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and that there shall be no more death, sorrow, crying nor pain; yet as this language is borrowed from Isaiah, it may be understood in the New Testament as it is in the Old — as highly figurative and rhetorical.

But what is a moral resurrection? It is such as Elijah, the Tishbite, had in the person of John, the Baptist. The dead martyrs are, in a sense, raised again to life, when their spirit and character appear in subsequent generations. And when this spirit shall triumphantly prevail and this character become general, the confessors of the name of Jesus may be declared to reign on the earth. They reign in the same sense as Christ reigns, governing men by the

power of his truth and spirit. The thousand years' reign of Christ and the saints denotes a glorious epoch of purity, peace, holiness and enjoyment. But the nature of man is not then changed. He is as capable of sin as the preceding generations. And at length comes a time of declension. Satan again goes abroad and deceives mankind. The earth is filled with wicked men. Gog and Magog go up on the breadth of the earth and compass the camp of the saints. And here, in this evil generation which comes upon the stage of the world, at the close of the millennium, we may, perhaps, find the second resurrection; the moral resurrection of the unrighteous. A wicked generation is the revival of the unholy men of preceding ages. St. John — we may properly call him saint, whether he were the apostle or not — calls them "souls," and "the dead;" but he does not declare these souls to have been embodied, nor these dead to have been revivified.

One theological feature of the Apocalypse deserves a brief notice. The author certainly was a Theist, not a Trinitarian. There is but One who sits upon the throne in heaven. And this One is not the "Lamb; the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Word of God." Though the Lamb is worshipped — praised and honored — yet he is never placed on the throne. Of course, he was not regarded as the only and true God.

The book, whether written by an Elder or an Apostle, is entitled to high regard. It could not have been the work of an old man. In the Epistles of John the marks of age are prominent; but in the Apocalypse appear all the vigor and sprightliness of a mature and undecayed mind. Homer could not have composed the Iliad; nor the author of it the book of Job; nor Milton the Paradise Lost; nor Bunyan the Pilgrim's Progress; in the decline of their lives. These, with the author of the Apocalypse, were kindred spirits. The inspirations of God were upon them.

S. F.

ART VI.—MEMOIR OF WILLIAM TAYLOR.*

THE Memoir of William Taylor would furnish materials for a much more extended notice than we can here give it. He was the first, says his biographer, to lay open to the British public the "vast stores of German literature," and he first infused into English periodical criticism "that new spirit which has rendered it the guide of intellect and the ruler of opinion." He was a most prolific contributor, certainly, to the periodical press; the articles, consisting of original papers and translations, furnished by him to the Magazines and Reviews, in the space of thirty-one years, being estimated at more than 1750. He was long an intimate friend and correspondent of Robert Southey, many of whose letters, entirely familiar and confidential, and written in his best days, are given in the volumes before us. Southey says that he had known "very few who equalled him in talents." He had some singularities of style, attributable to his early German reading, which the frequent remonstrances of his friends could never induce him to correct, which were a bar to the popularity of his writings; yet the extent of his researches, his varied learning, his freshness and vigor of thought, and the independence and originality of his criticism, if they did not secure for him a brilliant reputation with the many, drew the attention, at least, of the thoughtful and discriminating.

"I can still," says Sir James Mackintosh, writing from Bombay, "trace William Taylor by his Armenian dress, gliding through the crowd, in Annual Reviews, Monthly Magazines, Athenæums, &c., rousing the stupid public by paradox, or correcting it by useful and seasonable truth. It is true that he does not speak the Armenian, or any other language but the Taylorian; but I am so fond of his vigor and originality, that for his sake I have studied and learned his language. As the Hebrew is studied for one book, so is the Taylorian by me for one author." — vol. ii. p. 575.

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* *A Memoir of the Life and Writings of the late William Taylor of Norwich, Author of 'English Synonyms Discriminated;' 'An Historic Survey of German Poetry,' etc. etc., containing his Correspondence of many years with the late Robert Southey Esq., and Original Letters from Sir Walter Scott, and other eminent Literary Men.* Compiled and Edited by J. W. ROBBERDS, F. G. S., of Norwich. London: 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 523 and 576.

For many years before the grave closed over his remains, however, he was gradually falling away from the notice of the public, and his recent death produced no sensation in the literary circles. His life furnishes some lessons, which, had we time to enforce them, might be useful, especially to young aspirants for literary distinction. From want of a due concentration of his powers, from some mental idiosyncracy, or from other causes, he threw away the best prizes of fame, when apparently within his reach, and failed of conferring on society the full benefit of his eminent gifts and acquirements.

William Taylor was born at Norwich, the seventh of November, 1765. His father, a member of the Unitarian congregation in that place, was an opulent merchant and William, being an only child, was brought up with great care and tenderness. Being destined to become a partner with his father in a business which led to much foreign correspondence, the house being engaged chiefly in the export trade, he was early taught French and other languages he might have occasion to use. One of his instructers was Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, with whom he studied the "dead languages," receiving lessons in English composition from Mrs. Barbauld, whom in after years he was wont to call the "mother of his mind." In 1779, and before he was fourteen, in company with an agent of his father, he visited the Continent, and passed some time in France, Italy, and the Netherlands, "in part with a view to perfect himself in the languages of the countries, and in part to be initiated in those commercial mysteries which were intended to be the occupation of his life." After an absence of about a year and a half he returned, but soon after made a second visit, during which he devoted himself especially to a study of the German language and literature. He returned at the age of seventeen full of enthusiasm for German studies. His literary tastes and habits, however, left him no peculiar relish for the occupations of the counting room, and though his attendance at it was regular for a time, its duties become daily more irksome to him. Norwich and its vicinity were at that period the residence of several individuals of no little note in the literary world. These were often guests at his father's table; the pleasures of conviviality were heightened by the refinements of liter-

ature; societies were formed for the discussion of political, speculative, and miscellaneous questions; his love of books increased, and the result was a thorough alienation of his mind from pursuits of which he had never been fond, and the father despairing of ever being able to make him an active mercantile man, finally yielded to his wishes, and relinquishing the business concern to a partner they retired from trade.

The family was amply provided with property, and from that time William, who lived under the paternal roof, unmarried, devoted himself exclusively to literature and the enjoyments of the social circle. At liberty to follow his inclinations, and valuing his Attic repasts, at which were often assembled men of eminence, foreigners as well as natives, he yet wanted those motives to systematic exertion without which the mind rarely brings forth its best fruits. He was, however, not idle. He performed an immense amount of literary labor, though little of it was of a kind to procure any immediate distinction beyond the circle of his friends, and still less to tell with posterity. Like the coral insect, he often labored unseen, and did not always work himself up into the light of day. Most of his writings lie buried beneath the rubbish of reviews where they will forever remain concealed from all eyes but those of the antiquary. There are portions of them one would not wish to see disinterred, yet some of them contain a vein of rich ore well worth the exploring.

In 1790 he wrote his translation of Bürger's celebrated ballad of "Lenore," and this "inspired" Walter Scott. The anecdote is told both by Mrs. Barbauld and by Miss Aikin, both of whom heard Scott relate it. Mrs. Barbauld had taken the translation to Edinburgh, some years before it was published, and read it to Dugald Stewart. "He," said Scott, "repeated all he could remember of it to me; and this was what made me a poet. I had several times attempted the more regular kinds of poetry without success, but here was something that I thought I could do. When, four years after, Scott published his own version of the ballad, he acknowledges to Taylor, that he had committed a slight "theft" from him. A large portion of Mr. Taylor's time and thoughts were henceforth given to German literature, of which he continued for many years to furnish the

public with specimens and critical notices in the reviews, but the limits we have prescribed to ourselves will not permit us to follow him into this broad field.

In 1793, by the persuasion of his friend Dr. Enfield, Mr. Taylor began his contributions to the Monthly Review, one of the leading Journals of the day, then under the editorial care of Dr. Griffiths. We have already mentioned the number of his contributions to this and other reviews, which included the Critical and the Annual, the Monthly Magazine commenced by Dr. Aikin in 1796, and the Athenæum. A large proportion of the more important publications noticed in these journals, during the time he was connected with them, were committed to him for review. Hazlitt says that "the style of philosophical criticism, which has been the boast of the Edinburgh Review, was first introduced into the Monthly about the year 1796 by William Taylor."

In 1798 commenced his acquaintance with Robert Southey, who was then first rising into fame, and whose letters, a large number of which are here given, and some of them from originals furnished by himself, form one of the most attractive portions of the Memoir. In them he mentions the literary projects he from time to time formed, states the progress of his works, invites criticism, and communicates a variety of opinions on poets and poetry, reviews and reviewing, and a multitude of other subjects, full of interest as connected with the literary history of his day. Taylor's portion of the correspondence shows the abundance of his resources, and the variety of his reading, the liveliness of his imagination, and his acuteness of critical analysis. They submit their performances to each other for free and unreserved criticism, and the lauriate not unfrequently profited by his friends comments.

In a letter to Southey, Taylor, after alluding to a report of his declining health, and his apprehension of an "ossification of the heart," rallies him on what he calls his "mimosa-sensibility, which agonises in so slight a blast; an imagination excessively accustomed to summon up trains of melancholy ideas, and marshal funeral processions; a mind too fond by half, for its own comfort, of sighs and sadness, of pathetic emotions and heart-rending woe." Southey in reply, among other things, speaks of the profes-

sion of law, of which he then, it seems, thought; but he expresses a fear that the state of his health would "disqualify him for London and a lawyer's office." He adds,

"I shall make the attempt somewhat heartlessly, and discouraged by the prognostics of my medical advisers: if my health suffers, I will abandon it at once. At the age of twenty-five there is little leisure for writing. The world will be again before me, and the prospect sufficiently comfortable. I have no wants, and few wishes. Literary exertion is almost as necessary to me as meat and drink, and with an undivided attention I could do much. Once, indeed, I had a mimosa-sensibility, but it has long been rooted out: five years ago I counteracted Rousseau by dieting upon Godwin and Epictetus; they did me some good, but time has done more. I have a dislike to all strong emotion, and avoid whatever could excite it; a book like 'Werter' gives me now unmingled pain. In my own writings you may observe that I rather dwell upon what affects than what agitates."—vol. i. pp. 261, 262.

The tendency of Southey's mind is thus, on another occasion, alluded to in a letter of Taylor containing a criticism on some of his earlier productions.

"Your idylls — have not they a turn too uniformly plaintive and melancholy? Must each include a scene of distress — a pathetic tale? A weeping willow, waving in a gale of sighs over a pond of tears, is a luxurious object two or three times, but not a whole alley of weeping willows. Apollo in tears over the wounded Hyacinth is a fine subject for the painter, but not Argus in tears. Do our rustic manners afford no cheerful sides, no pictures of felicity, or graceful merriment? Have we no May-days, no harvest-homes, no Christmas-times? Is not superstition natural to country-folks, and convenient to the poet? Milton seems to have thought the elfin mythology fitted for the eclogue, when he talks of

> 'Young and old come forth to play
> On a sunshine holiday.'

and describes the stories they told 'over the spicy nut-brown ale.'—vol. i. p. 241.

His own fault of diffuseness, "wheyishness" Taylor calls it, and occasional want of elevation of style, Southey acknowledges and partly excuses. That he would have been benefited by a manly criticism he was himself fully aware. In 1799 he thus writes,

"Perhaps it is the consciousness of a garrulous tendency in writing that impels me with such decided and almost exclusive choice to narrative poetry. The books of the 'Italia Liberata' which I read at Norwich did me more service towards correcting this fault than any other lesson could have done. In 'Madoc' I think I have avoided it. Sometimes too it is serviceable, wherever there are passages of prominent merit. There should be a plain around the pyramids. As a poet, I consider myself as out of my apprenticeship and having learnt the command of my tools. If I live, I may, and believe I shall, make a good workman; but at present I am only a promising one. It is an unfavorable circumstance that my writings are only subjected to the criticisms of those persons whose tastes are in a great measure formed upon mine, and who are prepared to admire whatever I may write."—vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

In 1803, he says,

"Weak eyes still annoy me and keep me idle. I can only write poetry, which is hard when prose pleases me better. 'Madoc' is on the anvil for the last time; probably I must publish it next winter. With an Odyssey fault of structure it will be a good poem: of that I feel most prophetic assurance. I am correcting it with merciless vigilance, — shortening and shortening, distiling wine into alcohol."—vol. i. pp. 439, 440.

Of his deliberate mode of proceeding with this poem, and the slowness with which it was elaborated, the following affords some hint. It is from a letter dated the same year.

"I will endeavor to find leisure from so many employments to send you 'Madoc' book by book as it proceeds, that you may find faults in time. It is now fourteen years since I fixed upon the subject. In 1792 I began to collect materials, in 1794 began the poem, recommenced it 1797, finished it 1799, and am now pulling it down and building a better edifice on the same ground."—vol. i. pp. 446.

Again, in 1804, he writes,

"You may have seen 'Madoc' advertised as in the press, which is a publisher's licence, — the use of the present for the future tense; in fact it is but half corrected, but I have promised it to the printer by Midsummer-day; and if no illness or mischief interrupt me, my promises are like the laws of the Medes and Persians. Your objections to the story, as being connected with a particular system, are done away; yet I have doubts and misgivings about the poem which I never felt for

'Thalaba,' and am convinced that it is no advantage to work upon an old plan, and be years in re-casting and correcting it. The old leaven will remain: what at first was deemed a beauty is weeded out, but it is not so easy to detect the faults of what only passed originally for tolerable, and after all there will be a patch-work of style; in fact I am more encouraged by the effect it produces upon others than by my own consciousness, and should therefore be disposed to condemn it, were not Coleridge decided and loud in its praise."—vol. i. pp. 490.

"Madoc" was published early in 1805, and then comes a correspondence about its merits and the manner in which it is to be reviewed. Taylor reviewed it in different journals as he did most of Southey's productions, with a friendly hand indeed, yet occasionally pointing out defects of plan or style. Some of this correspondence, as well as Taylor's correspondence with Dr. Griffiths on the subject of reviewing, is not a little curious, and lets the reader into the mysteries of the art as then practised. We wish we could give some of Taylor's epistolary criticisms upon "Madoc." But the following which relates partly to the work and partly to reviews of it, is all for which we have room. Parts of the extract are amusing enough. Writers must like such reviewers, we think. Then what excellent counsel is given to Southey about the "counterplea."

"I blush to begin a letter to you, as I have been quiet too long; but I have been writing to everybody else about you and your 'Madoc' these six months. The levelness of manner you in fact admit, by pleading guilty to the want of ornamental patches: the observation was not solitary. Dr. Sayers confirmed, if he did not suggest the remark. Euripides makes his drunken Hercules ludicrous, and Shakspeare makes Prince Henry so: this is pushing inequality of manner to excess. We reviewers want splendid passages to bring out, and are accustomed to have our words taken for the quality of what will not be extracted. I felt at a loss for convenient extracts, and would have consulted you, had I not drawn up the article for A. Aikin in haste, with the hope of saving a year by providing it in time for the last Annual. The Monthly Magazine article is an epitome of the more formal one so transmitted. Suppose you ask Arthur to send it down to you; make your own commentaries paragraph by paragraph, and transmit the annotated manuscript to me for re-transcription. I shall willingly find only agreed faults, and willingly bear hard only on what you intend to alter. Mere puff produces no effect; a critique must be abusive enough

to pass for sincere. But I am so delighted with 'Madoc,' as to wish to assert for it the highest practicable rank. I shall omit anything without regret; I cannot undertake to insert anything, but you might, through Mr. May surely, get a counterplea inserted in the Monthly Review; and your friend Wordsworth is at hand to write it. He is a critic after your own heart, not, like me, barbarized by German theories into the dislike of Latin, French and the derivative English art."—vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

With all his faults of manner, Southey wrote pure English, and his friend Taylor's barbarisms of style annoy him excessively. In the freedom of his correspondence he cannot help occasionally alluding to them. "And now," says he on one occasion, "I will say what I have long thought, that you have ruined your style by Germanisms, Latinisms, and Greekisms, that you are sick of a surfeit of knowledge." — "I have read Cowper's 'Odyssey' and 'Trissino' to cure my poetry of its wheyishness; let me prescribe the 'Vulgar Errors' of Sir Thomas Browne to you for a like remedy. You taught me to write English by what you said about Bürger's language and from what I felt from your translations, — one of the eras of my intellectual history; would that I could now in my turn impress you with the same convictions! Crowd your ideas as you will, your images can never be too many; give them the stamp and autograph of William Taylor, but let us have them in English — plain, perspicuous English — such as mere English readers can understand. Ours is a noble language, a beautiful language." And so he goes on in a strain of advice and remark on the use of "pure old English," and the sin of treason against one's "mother tongue," — a sin which has been on the increase, rather than decrease, we believe, since this was written, and of which the present day furnishes, we are sorry to say, several flagrant examples.

Southey, as well as Taylor, wrote largely for the reviews, and sometimes for the newspapers. "I am reviewing," says he in 1803, "for Longman, — reviewing for Hamilton, — translating; perhaps about again to versify for the Morning Post, — drudge, drudge, drudge." — "Coleridge and I must drudge for newspapers from necessity." Again, "you and I," says he to Taylor, in 1805, "continue to be the Gog and Magog of the Annual Review, and a pretty

rabble they are who come in our train." He complains occasionally of the manner in which his articles were revised by editors, and especially in the Critical, to which however he submits with a good grace.

The names of the writers in a review or journal were then studiously concealed from the public, a precaution deemed absolutely necessary to secure independence and freedom of criticism, and as editors, with the proprietor or publisher, alone had a special interest in the success of the work, and were amenable for its contents, they claimed unlimited power to alter both style and sentiment, consulting the writer of the article when they could, but when distance or want of time prevented, using their best judgment as to changes or omissions. It may be some consolation to writers to know that articles sent by such men as Taylor, and Southey, were sometimes rejected.

Coleridge's ballad of the "Ancient Mariner," Southey pronounces "the clumsiest attempt at German sublimity" he "ever saw." In 1805 he visited Edinburgh, and saw Jeffrey, who had just printed his review of Madoc, in which there were some things which could not prove very acceptable to the author of the poem.

"I met him" says Southey, "in good humor, being by God's blessing of a happy temper: having seen him, it were impossible to be angry with anything so diminutive. We talked about the question of taste on which we are at issue. He is a mere child upon that subject: I never met with a man whom it was so easy to check-mate."—vol. ii. pp. 101, 102.

Taylor says in reply,

"Jeffrey's great merit lies in a command of example: whatever he is reviewing, a book or a simile, — whatever he is discussing, an episode or an epithet, — he can instantly find up every analogous and comparable instance in the whole treasury of ages and languages. His taste is book-made, superinduced by the theorists and by authority; not the result of feeling, nor of that art of appreciation which is acquired by trying experiments in composition, and afterwards applying to others the principles employed in self-approbation or condemnation. To be a good critic, a man must have served his apprenticeship to art."—vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.

"I passed three days," says Southey, "with Walter Scott, an amusing and highly estimable man. You see the whole extent of his powers in the 'Minstrel's Lay,' of which your opinion

seems to accord with mine, — a very amusing poem; it excites a novel-like interest, but you *discover* nothing on after perusal. Scott bears a great part in the Edinburgh Review, but does not review well. He is editing Dryden, — very carelessly; the printer has only one of the late common editions to work from, which has never been collated, and is left to make conjectural emendations. This I learned from Ballantyne himself in his printing-office."—vol. ii. pp. 104, 105.

"The Scotch society" says he, "disappointed me, as it needs must do a man who loves conversation instead of discussion. Of the three faculties of the mind, they seem exclusively to value judgment. They have nothing to teach, and a great deal more to learn than I should choose to be at the trouble of instructing them in."—vol. ii. p. 103.

Most of our readers have heard of Dr. Parr, and the name of Sir James Mackintosh is familiar to all. Of the two, William Taylor thus speaks.

"Dr. Parr and Mackintosh have been in Norwich. — They are both very dazzling men. One scarcely knows whether to admire most the oracular significance and compact rotundity of the single sentences of Parr, or the easy flow and glittering expansion of the unwearied and unwearying eloquence of Mackintosh. Parr's far-darting hyperboles and gorgeous tropes array the fragments of his conversation in the gaudiest trim. Mackintosh's cohesion of idea and clearness of intellect give to his sweeps of discussion a more instructive importance. Parr has the manners of a pedant, Mackintosh of a gentleman. Of course people in general look up to Parr with awe, and feel esteem for him rather than love, while Mackintosh conciliates and fascinates. In this feeling I do not coincide with others wholly. There is a lovingness of heart about Parr, a susceptibility of the affections, which would endear him even without his Greek. But admiration is, if I mistake not, yet more gratifying to Mackintosh than attachment; to personal partialities he inclines less. His opinions are sensibly aristocratized since the publication of his 'Vindiciæ;' but they retain a grandeur of outline, and are approaching the manner of the constitutional school. Mackintosh's memory is well stored with fine passages, Latin and English, which he repeats, and his taste in poetry inclines to metrical philosophy rather than pathos or fancy. Milton, Dryden and Pope have alone sufficient good sense to please him. Virgil he overrates, I think, and Cicero too. Style and again style is the topic of his praise. Careless writing, redolent of mind, is better than all the varnish of composition, merely artful. I was surprised to find him agree with the

French in thinking Bossuet very eloquent; and still more so at his rating so very high the panegyric mysticism of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. There are indeed exquisite, more than platonically beauteous passsges, but they are scattered thinly, like the apparitions of angels in pious story."—vol. i. pp. 297, 298.

In reply, Southey says,

"You give me a more favorable account of Mackintosh than I have been accustomed to receive. Coleridge has seen much of him at the Wedgewoods. He describes him as acute in argument, more skilful in detecting the logical errors of his adversary than in propounding truth himself, — a man accustomed to the gladiatorship of conversation — a literary fencer, who parries better than he thrusts. I suspect that in praising Jeremy Taylor and in overrating him, he talks after Coleridge, who is a heathen in literature and ranks the old bishop among his demigods. I am not enough conversant with his writings to judge how accurately you appreciate him. The 'Holy Living and Dying' everybody knows, and it has splendid parts. His 'Ductor Dubitantium' I procured just before my departure from Bristol, and it lies in my unopened baggage. What Coleridge values in these old writers is their structure of paragraph; where sentence is built upon sentence with architectural regularity, each resting upon the other, like the geometrical stairs at St. Paul's."—vol. i. p. 302.

But we are yielding too far to the temptation to extend our extracts, and taking leave of Southey, Coleridge, and the rest, we must say what we have to add of William Taylor in few words. Taylor was in his prime at the beginning of the present century. His writings in 1803-4, says his biographer, if collected, would fill, at least, five octavo volumes, and indicated "an extent of reading beyond any that we find recorded in the diaries of our most indefatigable men of letters." He rose early, engaged in study till noon, when it was his "almost daily practice at all seasons to bathe in the river," after which he invariably took a walk, making a circuit of six miles or more, always in the same direction, and in a solitary way, choosing a particular road, as he said, because being unable to cross the river except at a certain point, no "fit of indolence" could defraud him of his "allotted term of exercise." In his walk he appeared wholly abstracted, "conversing the while most animatedly with himself."

"There was something singular too in his appearance: his dress was a complete suit of brown, with silk stockings of the same color; in this quaker-like attire, with a full cambric frill protruding from his waistcoat, and armed with a most capacious umbrella in defiance of the storm, 'muttering his wayward fancies he would rove,' and fixed the astonished gaze and curious attention of the few passengers whom he met."—vol. ii. pp. 61, 62.

In 1811 the Taylors sustained a heavy loss of property, which made it necessary for them to exchange their richly furnished and hospitable mansion in Surry Street for a more humble dwelling and an altered style of living. The blow was severely felt, and William Taylor lost a portion of his summer friends, partly, no doubt, in consequence of the change, though the wildness of many of his theological speculations recklessly thrown out upon the public, probably helped to interrupt some intimacies.

In 1813 and 1814 he was employed in preparing for the press his volume of "English Synonyms Discriminated," most of which had already appeared in reviews, and which partook of the defects which such an origin would naturally involve. It is a work of great merit, however, and the use which Crabb, who published his "English Synonyms" in 1816, made of it without any specific acknowledgment, subjected him to the "serious charge" of literary piracy.

Mr. Taylor's powers, however, early began to show symptoms of decline. From 1819 to 1823 his supply of articles to the reviews grew less frequent, and the importunities of editors were daily more earnest and pressing. He was engaged in writing the life of his friend Dr. Sayers, but the work lagged; he felt a "morbid reluctance to application," and his writings began, at times, to exhibit decided marks of languidness. After 1823 he wrote little; a single article contributed by him to the Foreign Quarterly in 1827, is described by his biographer as a "tame composition," and his only literary effort after this period was the publication (in 1828-1830,) of his "Historic Survey of German Poetry" in three octavo volumes.

These volumes contain the fruit of his German studies. The merit of first giving an impulse to these studies in England, we suppose, of right belongs to William Taylor, as his biographer asserts; and had he accomplished even

less towards making the English reader acquainted with the history of German intellect, laboring, as he did, in a field till then untrodden, he would have been entitled to no small commendation. It was not to be expected that he should leave nothing to be done by those who should come after him. As to the work itself, the "Historic Survey of German Poetry," being made up chiefly from articles from reviews, contributed through a series of years, without being re-cast, a few connecting links only being occasionally supplied, it would have been strange, if it had not been defective both in plan and execution. It certainly wants unity and completeness, and has great defects and redundances. Some names, which hold a high rank in German literature, are either entirely omitted, or are only briefly alluded to, while the productions of inferior authors are given at length, or have a space assigned to them altogether disproportionate to their worth. The work disappointed some of Mr. Taylor's friends, and as his warmest admirers are compelled to admit "does not satisfy the expectations which its title awakens." With all its imperfections, however, it is one of no little utility, especially to those commencing the study of German literature, and is in various respects entitled to respectful notice. Carlyle, whose opinions on many points differ widely from those of Taylor, commented upon it with some severity, in his way, in the Edinburgh Review for March 1831, in an article, "of so mixed a character," as Taylor's biographer very justly, we think, remarks, "that it is difficult to divine the real object of the writer." It contains much bitter and scornful criticism, mingled, however, with no slight praise. It allows that Mr. Taylor, "in respect of general talent and acquirement, takes his place above all our expositors of German things; that his book is greatly the most important we yet have on this subject. Here are upwards of fourteen hundred solid pages of commentary, narrative and translation, submitted to the English reader; numerous statements and personages, hitherto unheard of, or vaguely heard of, stand here in fixed shape; there is, if no map of intellectual Germany, some first attempts at such."

From the time of the publication of this work till his death, in 1836, Taylor's life was little more than a "melancholy blank." Any attempt at a general summary of

his character and merits as a writer would be out of place in an article so brief and slight as the present. We could much easier have prepared a longer article, our great difficulty having been to make a selection where there is so much we should have been glad to present to our readers. Mr. Taylor did not live in vain. He performed, as we have seen, an immense amount of literary labor, and with habits of less desultory study and pursuit, would have left behind him an enduring memorial. His friends, and Southey in particular, often urged him to undertake a work which should be worthy of his talents and place his fame on a permanent basis; and he, from time to time, formed projects and indulged visions, but his impatience of systematic and continued effort overcame his resolutions, and his reputation, we fear, will prove but transient and shadowy. We wish we could give in conclusion an extract from a letter containing reminiscences of him by Miss Aikin, written in 1841, and found at the close of the Memoir, but want of room compels us to omit it. A. L.

Art. VII. — THE LATE REV. ISAAC ALLEN.*

We are glad that the sermons, the titles of which are given below, have been published. Preached, the one at the interment, and the other the Sunday after the decease of Mr. Allen, they contain a vivid and faithful picture of one whose memory we would not willingly let die. Although he held no conspicuous place among our clergy, yet his fidelity in his sphere and according to his ability, his many estimable qualities, his genial and affectionate disposition, fresh amid the infirmities of age, drew close the ties of friendship, and have left a distinct and agreeable

* 1. *Discourse preached March 21st, 1844, at the Funeral of the late Rev. Isaac Allen, Senior Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Bolton.* By Richard S. Edes, his Colleague. Worcester. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

2. *A Discourse occasioned by the death of Rev. Isaac Allen, of Bolton, preached at Lancaster, March 24th, 1844.* By Edmund H. Sears, Minister of the first Congregational Society in Lancaster. Worcester. 1844. 8vo. pp. 16.

impression on our minds of which we are desirous to make a permanent record. Besides, as we contemplate him, other venerable forms rise up before us. He was the companion and friend of Bancroft and Thayer; the last of his generation — the sole survivor of that class of venerated men, who, thirty years ago, renounced the bondage of creeds, stood forth the friends of religious liberty, and mainly contributed to establish the principles of an enlightened and generous religion in the easterly and central parts of the County of Worcester. Honored be their memories and precious the memorials which they have left.

Mr. Allen was born in Weston, October 31st, 1771. Receiving an injury from a fall when quite a boy, he was crippled for the remainder of his life. It was his intention to pursue the business of a mechanic, but finding himself unable to endure bodily fatigue he relinquished his intended occupation, and at a period when many have completed their collegiate course, he began to devote himself to study. At the age of twenty-one, he entered Harvard College, and without patrimony, by a rigid economy, the habit of which he always retained, and by employing his vacations in teaching grammar schools by day, and singing schools by night, he was enabled to struggle through, and was graduated with a reputable standing in the distinguished class of 1798. He pursued his professional studies with the Rev. Dr. Kendal of Weston. In 1803 he began to preach in Bolton, and after a few months probation he was ordained the minister of that town, March 14, 1804. There he passed the remainder of his days in the quiet discharge of of his duties. There, for more than forty years, he stood before his people as the faithful minister and friend. In all that time, though he was never free from pain, his labors were never interrupted, except for a single Sabbath, until his last sickness. In the autumn of 1843, he was attacked with paralysis. After lingering several months with impaired faculties but with unabated cheerfulness, he at last sunk under the hand of disease and terminated his ministry and his life, March 18, 1844, at the age of seventy-two years.

Though Mr. Allen, as we have said, held no conspicuous place among our clergy, yet he was extensively known, and he possessed traits which gave him marked individuality,

and for which he will be long remembered by those who knew him. His character was open as the day, and yet it was one that might easily be misunderstood by a casual acquaintance. They who saw him but once could not mistake some of the leading features of his mind and heart, yet they would be liable totally to misapprehend other qualities which lay a little more in the shade. He was no lover of books; his knowledge was limited, never extending beyond a few elementary authors, yet he possessed an unusual insight into men, seldom mistaking their motives or characters. He was remarkable for his plainness and bluntness of speech, yet was so fearful of giving offence, that he would remain silent when in the opinion of every one else he had better have spoken out. He was generous in his disposition, loving to have his friends around him, and spreading his table with the profuse hospitality of the olden time; yet by his habits of thrift and worldly economy he left behind him an estate the amount of which astonished even his most intimate friends. He was genial in his nature, his eye would twinkle with delight at the successful sally, but whenever the conversation approached the confines of impropriety, a shade of solemnity would steal over his countenance — the conversation would be instantly checked. He loved the good opinion and was tremblingly alive to the commendations of his acquaintance; yet there was a self-distrust, a depth of humility, that left no doubt of his sincerity. He paid little regard to the conventional forms of society, but was strongly attached to the ancient usages and customs of the church. Choosing the old paths, with godly simplicity and unaffected earnestness he did the work which was appointed him to do; he was always welcome in the pulpits of neighboring churches, never awakening so much interest as in the latter years of his life.

The most prominent trait in Mr. Allen's mind was plain, practical, common sense. He had no taste for refinements and subtleties. He could see no use in theories or principles, which had not a direct and palpable bearing upon the conduct. The bold speculations of our times drew from him many a groan, and the innovations of the day he regarded as little less than the ruin of the church. His ministry embraced a period of great agitation and change.

The New England pulpits were the theatre of hot controversy and often of bitter recrimination. But he could never bring himself to enter into the strife, and it served only to strengthen his attachment to a tolerant theology and his love of peace. While others contended for the faith, teaching men what to believe, he went on in his plain homely way teaching them what to do. It may be doubted whether he ever preached a controversial sermon. On this point, Mr. Sears, who in his excellent sermon has very felicitously given the characteristics of his mind and preaching, thus expresses himself.

"I presume that those who heard him preach for nearly forty years knew little about his theology; for I think he never elaborated any opinions except those which touch directly upon moral practice. When called upon once, by his brethren in the ministry, to give his opinion upon the origin of moral evil, how men became sinners and what is the true doctrine of human depravity, he replied as usual by an illustration. 'A field of corn belonging to my neighbor was the other day broken into; and while they were debating the question how the intruder could have got in, the whole crop was nearly destroyed and eaten up. Go home to your people and work faithfully in driving sin out of the world, and when that is accomplished, we will ask how it came in.' He did not see, what some of his brethren thought they did, that the question how sin came into the world, and especially into our own souls, might have an important bearing upon its expulsion and affect the whole subject of regeneration. His mind, indeed, was of that class whose wisdom, or rather prudence is of most value in practical details, and which gathers up the results of philosophy into maxims so pointed that they ever cleave to the memory. For this reason, his words from the pulpit could not easily be forgotten; he had something to say which you could carry away and think about, and put down perhaps in a code of proverbial philosophy."—p. 13.

In addition to his strong good sense, Mr. Allen had great goodness of heart. It was this that formed the tie which nothing but death severed, between him and his people. Having no domestic relations, they constituted his own larger household. He was the familiar and welcome friend in all the families of his parishioners. Through the long years of his ministry, he had been present and taken a part in the formation of most of them, and their

whole history of weal and wo was written on the pages of his memory. Year by year he had walked side by side with the fathers and mothers and could call all the children by name. He was acquainted with their worldly condition and rejoiced in their worldly prosperity, but seldom would he leave them without giving utterance to some maxim, and suggesting some well-meant caution which would aid them in their spiritual well-being; and if it were sometimes bluntly given, it was kindly meant and kindly received. And when the Sabbath came round, in tones of affection, and language quaint from its familiarity, and with illustrations striking through their very homeliness, he would repeat his admonitions; and when, as he often did, he dropped his notes and gave free utterance to his thoughts, he was always impressive and sometimes eloquent.

So he lived in the midst of his people, bearing them on his heart with a father's affection, until he had reached a good old age and the end of a long ministry. The storms that passed over and shook our churches, touched lightly upon his. His brethren in the ministry who began their course with him, had all passed from his side, some by dismission and some by death. He stood alone in his lot, when at length he was stricken down, and was borne to his room to linger and to die. But his bodily infirmity and his sufferings did not impair his interest in his people, but seemed to render more tender the tie which bound them to him. He loved to have them about him, and his countenance would light up and his wonted vivacity would return as he perceived them, with affectionate sympathy, crowding his sick room and doing honor to "the face of the old man." It was a grateful return for the service of long years and for the solicitude, unabated by morbid sickness, which he felt for them. They were very near to his heart, and it soothed his spirit to be assured that when that heart should cease to beat, he should be laid in the midst of them, his earlier and his later friends sleeping all around. As a lasting proof of his attachment he bequeathed to them his whole estate, as a perpetual fund for the support of the ministry, exceeding in amount all that he had ever received at their hands for the service of forty years. Nor was he forgetful of the more immediate spiritual interests of his people. He labored to speak to them from his sick room

and to give them a lesson from his own personal sufferings. In the appendix to the feeling and appropriate discourse delivered at his funeral, Mr. Edes has preserved a letter communicated and read to his church about two months before his death. It was written with a trembling hand, but it proceeded from a tender, affectionate heart, and is marked by his usual simplicity and directness. It concludes thus.

"My friends, my own condition may serve to remind you of the duty of action while health and strength remain. May what I have so often said to you from the pulpit be now indelibly impressed upon your minds, that the sick bed is no place to fix the attention or fasten the thoughts on any subject; and that, accordingly, if religious truths and principles have not been impressed before, they can hardly yield here their appropriate supports and consolations."—p. 20.

The "supports and consolations" here alluded to, Mr. Allen himself eminently enjoyed. His death formed an appropriate close of his faithful life.

"Our father," says Mr. Edes, in a passage which will form a suitable conclusion of this imperfect notice, "died amidst ministrations to his wishes and comfort which could not have been surpassed in tenderness and fidelity by an affectionate son or a devoted daughter; he died at a mature age, looking backward with pleasant memories and forward with cheering anticipations; he died possessed of the sincere affection and respect of the people who knew him intimately, and whom he had long served; he died with a loving, benevolent, and pious heart; — he died a Christian; — so far as we could know, and as far as his humility would allow him to confess it — with a pure conscience, void certainly of any grave offence either towards God or towards man. After a life, in the main, healthful and happy, he died in the hope of a blessed immortality, "trusting" — to use his own words — "in the mercy of God as made known by Jesus Christ." * * * "In dying, he was released from a body which had become a burden to him; from pains and sorrows which grievously wore upon his spirit, though he bore them with meekness and resignation. He died having been largely helped to be made perfect through suffering."—pp. 4, 5.

A. H.

Art. VIII.—RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG.

One of the most striking traits in that order of things which is established upon earth by the Creator, is the extent to which mankind are dependent one upon another, as respects their condition, happiness, and even character itself. The mutual influence which we exert in the various relations of life is immeasurable by any finite understanding. The connexions and consistency of this truth with the truth of man's accountableness, form a topic of great intricacy and mystery, which does not, however, come within the purpose of our present remarks.

No one will deny that there is the mutual influence which has just been mentioned — an influence which even determines our existence, and not only gives character to our bodily life, but in great measure shapes the condition and destiny of our immortal spirits. Even supposing the soul of the infant to be at birth immediately transmitted by the hand of the Almighty to the earthly tabernacle which it is to inhabit for a season, still the characteristics of that soul are indisputably found to manifest clear evidence of parentage. What we call hereditary traits are as common in respect to the nobler, as in respect to the inferior, part of the human constitution.

There is no more important department of that influence which is exerted by human beings over each other, than the education of the young. Generation after generation passes in solemn procession over the slight scaffolding of earthly life, soon to plunge into the abyss of eternity; and each, before it disappears, should hand the torches of truth and duty to the next succeeding rank, not merely unextinguished, but trimmed and fed with utmost diligence and burning with augmented splendor. Every new generation is committed, in a great measure, as mere material to the disposal of its predecessor. In its fullest sense, human education may perhaps be properly regarded as comprehending all the influences, of whatever sort, which serve to modify the human character. Books, although they are generally considered the chief means of education, are in reality less important than many others. We are influenced immeasurably by oral maxims and injunctions,

and especially by the force of living example. We are taught of God by the operations of his Providence, as well as by the language of the Bible. How few are accustomed to consider the common events of life as helping to constitute their education! And yet all these events exert more or less influence upon the character; they are fraught with heavenly lessons of instruction and admonition. All the circumstances of our existence co-operate in our education. In the words of Cowper;

> "Hark! 'tis the music of a thousand rills,
> Some through the groves, some down the sloping hills,
> Winding a secret or an open course,
> And all supplied from an Eternal Source."

The most convenient mode of classifying the influences of education is perhaps that which has reference to the compound nature of man, dividing education into three branches, — physical, intellectual, and moral; including under this last head all religious influences. Without dwelling on the two former, let us pass at once to the third general branch of education, which relates to the heart. Whatever pitch of excellence a human being may attain in respect to his intellectual and physical characteristics, his life will not, on the whole, be a profitable one, to himself or to others, if he have a bad heart. Indeed the hurtful influence of a bad heart is likely to be enhanced just in proportion to the degree of physical and intellectual culture with which it is associated. The disposition to useful or harmful action depends very much upon the training which the moral powers have undergone. The human being is capable of discerning the relations which he sustains to his Maker and to his fellow-creatures and of feeling the responsibilities which rest upon him; and this capacity of discernment and feeling may be indefinitely improved by a wise management of influences. The earlier this course of improvement can be commenced, the better. Childhood is the fittest season for religious education. There are some indeed who think differently; who say, for instance, that the Bible should be wholly kept from the hands of children, in order that they may study it more impartially when they grow up. Their minds, it is said, are so immature as not to be capable of deciding aright what is true

and what is false, and hence it is wrong to instil into those minds what may be only injurious prejudices. Such reasoning, one would think, bears too much resemblance to that which is employed to defend the exclusion of the Bible from the hands of even the adult laity, to be regarded without distrust by any genuine Protestant.

The principle of this objection to early religious instruction is palpably absurd. It would require us to omit all instruction of the young; for, in this point of view, the case is just the same respecting all subjects of education as respecting religion. Why not refrain from teaching children geography, for example, lest the books or lessons which we use should communicate wrong views of the science, such as the weak intellect of childhood could not repudiate. Do you say, the principles of geography are more generally agreed upon than the doctrines of the Bible? But general agreement by no means certifies the truth of principles; for the greater part of mankind have been agreed in principles which are now ascertained to have been false. This objection overlooks the fact that children must be trained in some way or other; if not in the way they should go, necessarily in some way they should not go. The only question is, shall we use our highest wisdom as to their education, or leave it to be wholly a random thing? Reasoning of the sort we are considering would prohibit us from educating children concerning any of the duties of common life, lest they should form habits subversive of candor and correct judgment. Why should we bring up children to be, as we think, good citizens? or to practice habits of industry in any one of the callings of life? Perhaps when they grow up they will think we taught them wrongly; or at any rate perhaps they would have thought so if we had not biased their minds by education.

From the constitution of our nature and the arrangements of Providence, it is impossible that the human soul should remain a blank till it becomes mature. It cannot reach maturity, save through the discipline of culture, either designed, or what we call accidental. It cannot remain in any fixed condition. It has a tendency to expansion and development, like the tendency to growth in a tree. The longer discreet culture is delayed, the harder

it will be to effect desirable results. How should we think of a farmer, who, instead of training his tree in what he judged to be the best direction, should avow that he preferred to wait till it became large and vigorous through the lapse of years and could take a more firm and decided bent? The truth is, the soul of a young child may properly be likened to a prolific patch of earth. If we do not employ its energies, through our own care, in the production of wheat, or of some other valuable grain, it will bring forth a rank growth of useless and noxious weeds. The question whether weeds or grain shall be the product depends upon our management of the soil, in the case of the human heart almost or quite as much as in the literal cultivation of the earth. The constitution of the child's nature, his circumstances, his actions, (for he must act in some way or other,) would create habits without our help; and if those habits were evil ones, better that he had never been born, or had been exposed in infancy to certain death. Were it possible to keep him aloof from every good influence, he would necessarily become corrupt and hardened, being alienated from God and spurning all that is lovely and desirable in life. The worst we can do respecting our children is to leave them to themselves in such a world as this. We are to do the best we can and trust the event with God. It is important, indeed, (and this point has not received, by any means, the attention which it deserves,) that along with the inculcation of particular sentiments and practices which we believe to be correct, we should seek to cultivate, even in the youthful soul, a spirit of candor, a perfect readiness to be convinced of error by sound reasoning. But unless it is wrong to instruct children in any principles whatsoever, save that of utter indifference to all, it is not wrong to instruct them in religion. Why not demand that the man in mature life should delay forming religious principles till old age, on the ground that as years roll on he will become more and more capable of impartial and correct judgment? Is it said, the situation of manhood imperatively requires the application of religious principle? And can it be meant that religious principle is not needed by the child? Are the fear of God and obedience to his commandments of no importance in the early relations of life? It is true the duties of man-

hood are more weighty than those of childhood; and so, too, the duties of middle age are usually more weighty than those of early manhood. But is this any reason for postponing the culture of principle? By no means. Other things being the same, the sooner intelligible truths are instilled respecting religion or any other subject, the better.

The young need the influence of religion for the promotion of their own present happiness. Probably this fact is not in general enough regarded. When we think of religious instruction for children, we are perhaps too apt to refer its beneficial effect altogether to the future. But it is to be considered, that the more we can subject even a child to religious impressions and convictions and motives, the better it is for its own present well-being. Whatever the young can comprehend in respect to religion may be useful to them on their small scale of life, just as what is comprehended and practised by the adult is useful to him on his larger scale. Children may be made partakers with adults in that "peace that passeth all understanding," which the world can neither give nor take away.

Besides, children have a vast influence over the welfare of those around them. The happiness of their social intercourse with each other depends mainly on their mutual dispositions. The character of one child helps to mould the character of another. The conduct and qualities of children affect, to a very serious extent, the happiness of their parents and that of all nearly connected with them; and while a wise son will make the heart of his father to rejoice, an undutiful son may bring down his gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. The more even the youngest children regulate their little lives by Christian principle, imitating their Lord and Saviour, whose character they may be made in a measure to understand, to revere, and to love, at a very early age, the more useful and amiable will they become to those about them — the more dutiful and affectionate towards their parents, the more kind and gentle and self-denying towards their brothers and sisters, and school-fellows and playmates, the more faithful and exemplary as respects all the relations which they sustain, whether in their own family at home, or in the school or the street, or any social companionship abroad. The longer the principles of Christian piety are withheld, the longer is the human being denied access to those fountains

which alone send forth waters wholly sweet. Childhood has its responsibilities, its adversities even; nor, in the view of the child, are these responsibilities or adversities of a trifling nature, however they may seem to us. These little burdens, to them not little, demand patience, resignation, courage, faith, hope, charity — in a word all the principles which are demanded by mature life and which religion only can impart.

Then, too, in reference to the future, early religious instruction assumes a far more solemn consequence. Ere long instead of the fathers will be the children. These children are soon to become men and women. They are now forming characters for all their future being. The importance of religion in all the concerns of mature life will be disputed by few. It is not our purpose here to attempt a representation of the bearing which religion has upon man's earthly welfare — how it checks and removes the calamities induced by vice; how it promotes industry and civilization, and worldly prosperity in general; how it softens the too common asperities of feeling in society; how it communicates an affectionate mutual interest to all the intercourse of life; how it leads each to seek the good of all; how it blesses the domestic circle, making home the prototype of heaven, the sanctuary of the soul; how it gives to the individual heart resources of calm enjoyment which are beyond the reach of any harmful vicissitudes of affairs. These topics would be richly fruitful in remark. All, however, may be summed up in the words of Holy writ: "Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come." The consideration which is brought to view in the latter clause of this passage is of chief consequence. The truth that this life is a course of discipline for another which is eternal, that godliness alone hath the promise of the life which is to come, is a truth which transcends immeasurably all the concerns of earth. Now, according to Scripture and to reason, the happiness and usefulness of man's whole career of existence, here and hereafter, depend greatly on the principles formed at starting. In our earliest years, again to borrow the words of Cowper,

> "The mind, impressible and soft, with ease
> Imbibes and copies what she hears and sees,
> And through life's labyrinth holds fast the clue."

Wordsworth says, with some singularity of manner certainly, but yet with great truth, pithiness, and beauty, "The child is father of the man." He means, that manhood owes its character in great part to childhood; that, as children are wont to resemble their parents, so the man is wont to resemble the boy he once was, — as the forming influences of the father serve to determine the qualities of his offspring, so the forming influences of childhood determine the future man. Youth is very often and very properly spoken of as the *seed-time* of life. The nature of the harvest depends on what is then sown: "it may chance of wheat or of some other grain," or it may be found that "an enemy hath sown tares," or they have sprung up spontaneously from neglect of needful culture. To root out the tares must be a matter of difficulty; to bring back the soil to its primitive condition of excellence may be impossible. Sometimes, indeed, in those who have reached mature life considerable changes of character are brought about, though such changes are rare with them. But, at all events, "the old gnarled oak" cannot "be twisted as easily as the young sapling." There is, generally speaking, no period in life when the mind is so susceptible to religious impressions as in early childhood. The purity of religion finds a correspondence in the heart of uncorrupted youth, such as cannot be found in the bosom which has been subjected to the influence of maxims, examples and practices common with the selfish mass of our race. Most of the better sentiments of the heart are usually clearer and stronger in childhood than in after life. Matured coldness comes in process of time to take the place of warm, gushing emotion. Before the affections have been worn and hardened by the rough usage of circumstances, the child can be taught with comparative readiness to love his Father in heaven as he loves his earthly parent. Do we not often see the eye of childhood kindle at the story of God's love for man with an interest decidedly purer and deeper than could be awakened by it if first heard in mature life? — an interest which we adults, in our rough insensibility, can hardly sympathize with, or even appreciate? Childhood is the most suitable stock on which to engraft the chief sentiments of genuine piety.

The maintenance of Sunday schools as a public means

of religious instruction, we regard as a fit subject of joy and congratulation for all true patriots, philanthropists and Christians. No doubt these institutions are yet in their infancy. No doubt new light will be shed upon their proper principles as time advances. No doubt they will hereafter be made to effect much more good than they now do. Every thing of this nature must make progress towards perfection. But how is it possible to doubt that these schools are even at present doing vast good? They are to children, in a great measure, what the regular services of public worship are to adults. In them the mind receives instruction which fits it ere long to apprehend, enjoy, and profit by the ministrations of the pulpit. It may well be questioned whether those are right who believe it advisable to lower preaching, as far as possible, within the reach of the weakest intellect. In an effort after simplicity, for the sake of the younger hearers, the pulpit has often exhibited a feeble, puny style of thought and expression, not well calculated, it is to be feared, to benefit either child or adult. Milk for babes, it is true, but strong meat, when it can be had, for men. Let ministers preach sermons that stoutly demand more than a sleepy attention in order that they may be understood and appreciated, and they may gradually come to receive more than a sleepy attention as their reward; and then let it be left for the Sunday schools to train up children for the comprehension of such preaching.

Almost all things now-a-days seem to be tending to a superficial character — religion, alas! among the rest. There is, or rather would appear to be, a royal road to almost every desirable object. Formerly people were content to employ painstaking investigation and contemplation and effort in regard to business, science, religion. Now everything must be short and easy, or we cannot have patience with it. The change is not so profitable, as it may be agreeable. The good old rule is not apocryphal — we can in no way abrogate or evade it — that what is most worth having, costs most attention and exertion. The present age will learn some lessons on this point from most rough experience, if it do not lay them to heart otherwise ere long. Thought, even in New England preaching, needs rather to acquire more massiveness and compactness,

than to be further beaten out into thinness, frittered into chips, diluted into pap, rarefied into air. It is wisdom to draw the mind up after you, rather than pull it down from an elevation it has already reached.

The great danger in the religious instruction of the young is the pursuit of mechanical method. This danger of formality attends all the affairs of life, and especially, perhaps, all means of instruction. It is a danger of the first magnitude. We should not try merely to introduce a quantity of knowledge into the mind, but we should try to awaken thought. We must kindle the fire within, not smother it with fuel. We must take care that all the nutriment administered is properly digested. Even children love to think. God has annexed a pleasure to the exercise of the mind as well as to that of the body. The child takes as real delight in trying its tiny faculties of intellect, as it does in moving its tiny hands or feet. The mere movement of the mind is a source of gratification, just as mere physical activity is to those who are young and vigorous. In the search after truth, the impediments we encounter often serve only to enhance our interest and enjoyment; just as in the literal chase of hunters after their game, the excitement and glee of the occasion depend very much on the magnitude of the obstacles which are surmounted and the difficult nature of the exploits which are performed. The conquest of a principle has often bestowed a transport as deep as was ever experienced from the most brilliant achievements recorded in military annals. In teaching the young we ought to secure to them the pleasure of thinking. We should not try merely to transfer our own opinions into their minds. We should cultivate freedom of inquiry and conclusion. We should tell them our sentiments, give them our reasons for those sentiments, and then allow them, yes, encourage them, to judge for themselves. Else we shall cramp the youthful mind, as the Chinese cramp the feet of their female children. Let us not swathe the immortal soul with deadly bandages. These cannot befit life and growth, though they may help to embalm a mummy. It is true we are apt to feel a pang, when those whom we are seeking to persuade do not assent to our representations; but it is usually an ungenerous pang, a pang of wounded self-love. We ought to rise

above it. We ought to feel that the possession of an independent style of inquiry is a lofty endowment, not to be lamented merely because it is exercised in some respects adversely to our own views. Let us honor and cherish it in all; for it is the chief means of advance in real knowledge.

We should avoid as much as possible those modes of instruction which are most apt to produce a mechanical spirit and procedure on the part of both the teacher and the taught. The freedom of familiar conversation is preferable to the formality of set lessons. A life-like story in the Gospels or the Acts will, of course, usually awaken more interest than a doctrinal discussion or trite exhortation. We should imitate Christ in this matter. He connected the loftiest sentiments with the commonest concerns. He availed himself of the fields, the flowers, the trees, the habits of animals, the ordinary actions of men, the most insignificant occurrence, the merest trifle of any sort, as the means of heavenly instruction.

How immense a question it is, whether the posterity of the present generation in this country shall or shall not be guided by the principles of Christianity? Our population has doubled hitherto once in about twenty years. At this rate of increase the United States will number nearly one hundred millions of inhabitants by the close of this century; and by the middle of the next, our census will have swelled to five hundred millions! Shall the multitudinous mass of our offspring possess amiableness and excellence of character? Shall they be fortified against the ills of all sorts to which flesh is heir, and especially against the temptations which put in peril the highest interests of man? Shall they be good citizens, discharging with propriety all the duties incumbent upon them in their civil and social capacities, becoming faithful, affectionate, exemplary heads of families, trusty friends, in every respect burning and shining lights? Shall they, in fine, use the things of this world as not abusing them, and become meet for eternal bliss? If this be our heart's desire and prayer for our offspring, we must do all we can to cherish, encourage, promote, improve the religious instruction of the young; and as we sow, we, our children, our latest posterity, will reap, in this life and the life to come. D. F.

Art. IX. — DAVID'S LAMENTATION OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN.

The paraphrast has introduced in this version the beautiful idea suggested by many critics, that David, in the phrase, "*beauty* of Israel," has reference to the literal meaning of the Hebrew word — "the gazelle," and compares the death of Jonathan, the young and graceful, on Mount Gilboa, to the gazelle, which, when wounded, is said to go up into high places to die. The literal rendering would be, "Thy gazelle, O Israel, is slain upon her high places."

Thy beauty bleeds, O Israel!
How low the great and mighty lie!
Alas! thy beautiful gazelle
Climbs her high places — there to die.

O not in Gath the tidings tell,
Nor let the streets of Askelon
Hear how the brave and mighty fell, —
Proclaim the glory that is gone!

How would Philistine maids rejoice,
How would their boastings fill the sky,
Yea, the uncircumcised the voice
Of taunt and triumph lift on high!

Ye mountain-heights of Gilboa!
Let there henceforth be no more dew
By night, nor showers descend by day,
Nor fields of offerings wave on you.

For there the shield of Saul was seen
A trampled, vile, dishonored thing,
Of Saul, — as though he had not been
Of God anointed prophet-king.

The blood of captains slain might track
The bow of Jonathan: and when
Did once the sword of Saul come back,
Unfleshed with fat of mighty men?

O lovely in their lives and fair
Were Saul and Jonathan: the grave
Divides them not — together there
They slumber, as they fell — the brave!

Together flew they to the fray,
Swifter than eagles in their flight, —
Swifter than eagles to the prey,
Stronger than lions in their might.

Daughters of Judah! weep for Saul,
Who gave you scarlet, yea, and gold;
For him let tears of sorrow fall,
Whom ye shall never more behold.

How fallen in the midst of fight,
Alas, how low the mighty lie!
O Jonathan, upon thy height
Of promise fair that thou should'st die!

Alas, I am distressed for thee,
My brother Jonathan! O when
Such love as thou hast shown to me,
Shall I on earth behold again?

How pleasant hast thou been to me!
Thy love was wonderful — divine;
The love of woman could not be
More tender or more true than thine.

How fallen are the men of might,
Struck down amidst their places high!
Broken in fight and spurned in flight,
Alas, how low war's weapons lie! C. T. B.

Art. X.—RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.*

The two works of Mr. Rupp and Dr. Baird exhibit together a full, and in some respects a minute account of the religious history and condition of these United States; or more strictly of the denominations into which they are divided. The design of each is distinctly expressed in its title-page, and is executed, as might be anticipated, with various degrees of ability and accuracy, or the want of these essential qualities, according to the gifts and faithfulness of the writers from whose contributions they are compiled. The faithful execution of works of this class is attended with some peculiar difficulties; from misconception, on the one side, and want of due candor in the statement of the religious opinions of other denominations than our own; and from an over-weening partiality, on the other, which each one naturally cherishes for the views he has seen fit to adopt, and from the disproportionate importance he is led to attach to the interests, history, and influence of the sect to which he happens to belong. To both these sources of error the plan of the works before us is exposed; and it would be easy to show that the compilers have been far from successful in escaping them. Mr. Rupp, indeed, remarks in his preface, that "he had made application to many of the most prominent divines and lay members of different denominations, some of whom consented to aid his work by writing or procuring the necessary articles;" and "it is presumed that no writer in it can have had any motive to wilfully misrepresent the doctrine of the denomination of which he is a member." But he very properly adds, "it is admitted that he may have been

* 1. *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States; containing authentic Accounts of their Rise, Progress, Statistics and Doctrines; written expressly for the work by eminent Theological Professors, Ministers, and lay Members of the respective Denominations.* Projected, compiled, and arranged by I. Daniel Rupp of Lancaster, Pa. Philadelphia. 1844. 8vo. pp. 734.

2. *Religion in America; or an Account of the Origin, Progress, Relations to the State, and present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States; with notices of the Unevangelical Denominations.* By Robert Baird, author of "L'Union de l'Eglise avec l'Etat dans la Nouvelle Angleterre." In two Parts. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 344.

influenced by a bias, natural to many, to present 'the beauties of his own faith' in glowing colors, and where this may appear to have been attempted, it is left to the reader to make all due allowance." Of a part of the forty-three denominations, of which his volume of more than seven hundred pages presents a history, — embracing, together with the well-known and obvious divisions of the Church, the Seventh Day Baptists, the Latter Day Saints, the Mennonites, the converts to "Millenarianism," the "Omish Church," and the "Church of God," the Schwenkfelders, and Second Advent Believers, — some of our readers will perhaps have heard for the first time. We confess for ourselves that we should have been at some loss to answer satisfactorily any inquiries touching, for example, the "Omish Church"; of which, or as it seems to be sometimes called, the "Amish Church," a branch of the Mennonites, a brief account is furnished for Mr. Rupp by the Rev. Shem Zook of Pennsylvania.

A narrative is also given of the rise and progress of the "Latter Day Saints" by their late leader, Joseph Smith of Nauvoo. As the life and ministry of this notorious heresiarch have recently been brought to a close under circumstances suited to affect some changes, for better or for worse, in the condition of his converts, some of our readers may be interested in the statement which he gives both of their probable numbers and of their peculiar faith. If any evidence were needed of the waywardness of the human mind, or of the readiness with which, amidst good means of religious instruction, men will yield themselves to the most absurd delusions and to the guidance of an artful leader, it may be abundantly furnished in the history of this singular sect. Of the thousands and tens of thousands who flocked to Nauvoo, blindly submitting to his fanatical rule and accepting the Book of Mormon for their law, there were not wanting individuals, and even families, who had been through their childhood and youth within the institutions of this city; and for years had been members of respectable standing in some of our churches.

"There are no correct data," says Joseph Smith, "by which the exact number of members composing this now extensive, and still extending, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints can be known. Should it be supposed at 150,000, it might still be short of the truth.

Believing the Bible to say what it means and mean what it says; and guided by revelation according to the ancient order of the fathers to whom came what little light we enjoy; and circumscribed only by the eternal limits of truth; this church must continue the even tenor of her way, and 'spread undivided, and operate unspent.'

We believe in God the 'Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost. — We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.— We believe that through the atonement of Christ all men may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel. —We believe that these ordinances are: 1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, Repentance; 3d, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. — We believe that a man must be called of God by 'prophecy, and by laying on of hands,' by those who are in authority to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof. — We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz. apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c. — We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c. — We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God. — We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God. — We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisal glory.

We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.

We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul; 'we believe all things: we hope all things:' we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is any thing virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek thereafter."—pp. 409, 410.

To the three last articles of this confession of faith no possible objection can be made. Had no others been united with them, we should have been reminded of the beautiful covenant drawn up by Mr. Higginson, and adopted in its earliest days by the First Church in Salem.

The compilation by Dr. Baird — for such it chiefly is — was prepared, as he informs us in his preface, "for the perusal and benefit of Europeans — in answer to innumerable inquiries addressed to him by distinguished individuals of almost all professions and stations in society." But we should rather have inferred from the general character of the book, that it was written for the special gratification of such as shared with the compiler in a common faith, and could understand and apply the phraseology by which its doctrines are expressed. It abounds in the use of terms of a merely technical theology, such as we should suppose would be quite unintelligible to most continental readers. What the Duchess de Broglie, for example, for whose edification Mr. Baird prepared a small book "on the Origin and Progress of Unitarianism in the United States," would be able to comprehend of the revivals of religion, as set forth in the peculiar language of those accustomed to rely on these periodical movements, we should find it somewhat difficult to conjecture. In truth, the sectarian and exclusive spirit pervading his pages cannot but diminish its value with all reflecting and impartial readers. In describing the various religious denominations, "their polity and discipline, the doctrines peculiar to each, with their history and prospects," he arbitrarily designates them as evangelical or unevangelical. Having embraced under the former head the Episcopal, Orthodox Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodists of both classes, the United Brethren, and Orthodox Quakers, he assembles under the latter class Roman Catholics, Unitarians, the Christian Connexion, Universalists, Swedenborgians, and Tunkers, the Jews, Rappists, Shakers, Mormons, etc.; and lastly, "Atheists, Deists, Socialists, and Fourierists:" though as to these last he is pleased to observe, "that they can hardly be placed with propriety among religious denominations of any description;" while with respect to the others, he remarks,

"Having thus reviewed, as far as the compass of our work will permit, the Evangelical Churches or Denominations in the United States of America, we come now to speak of those that are considered as *unevangelical* by Orthodox Protestants; and under this head we shall, for convenience' sake, range all those sects that either renounce, or fail faithfully to exhibit, the fundamental and saving truths of the Gospel. Here, however, let us

not be misunderstood. When we put Roman Catholics in the same category with Unitarians, we would not for a moment be supposed as placing them on the same footing. The former, doubtless, as a Church, hold those doctrines on which true believers in all ages have placed their hopes for eternal life, yet these have been so buried amid the rubbish of multiplied human traditions and inventions, as to remain hid from the great mass of the people. Still, as in their doctrinal formularies they have not denied 'the Lord that bought them,' however much they may have multiplied other 'saviours,' they must not be confounded with those who have openly rejected that 'sure foundation which is laid in Zion.' While, therefore, we must deplore 'their holding the truth in unrighteousness,' and instead of presenting through their numerous priesthood the simple and fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, their supplanting these, in a great measure, by introducing 'another Gospel,' we would not say that an enlightened mind may not find in their church the way of life, obstructed though it be by innumerable obstacles.

Neither would we be thought to put the Unitarians on the same footing with the Universalists. The moral influence of the preaching of the former, and their standing in society, make them far more valuable than the latter as a component part of the general population. Nor would we put the Jews, or even the more serious part of the Universalists, on the same level with 'Socialists,' 'Shakers,' and 'Mormons.'

All that we mean by putting these various bodies in one category is, that they can none of them be associated with the evangelical Protestant Churches — with churches whose religion is the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible — nor, indeed, do we suppose that, however much they may dislike being all reviewed in one and the same section of this work, they would any of them choose to be associated with the Evangelical Protestant communions, or challenge for themselves that appellation." — pp. 269, 270.

In Dr. Baird's account of Unitarianism we notice the same misapprehensions both as to its origin and history, the same willingness to depreciate the religious character of its professors, and the same readiness to predict its ruin — "his wish being always father to the thought" — which distinguish most of the writers of his school, whenever they undertake to describe the Unitarian faith. Upon many of the subordinate topics, to which he refers, he has trusted to very imperfect or erroneous information. Some of his statements are totally without authority; and in reply to his predictions of the rapid diminution of its converts,

churches, and influence, we have only to refer to the authentic statistics of the denomination, as they appear in the annual Reports of its various Societies, or in the writings of those whose information and candor give them an authority to which neither Dr. Baird's opportunities or the prejudiced spirit with which he has sought or used them allow him any claim. For what must we think of the impartiality, or even integrity of a writer, who in referring to a numerous, and, at least as far as their social relations are concerned, a respectable denomination of his fellow-Christians, permits himself to use such sweeping clauses as these? —

"The Unitarians of New England," — being, as he says, "followers of Locke," "very naturally built their belief of Christianity *wholly* on evidence addressed to the senses." – p. 278.

Again, after a very questionable account of the origin of Unitarianism, strangely mixed up with references to the Revival of Religion in New England, and the labors of Whitfield and of Edwards, more than a century ago, he remarks,

"The *most important characteristic*, the *fundamental element* of New England Unitarianism, was now fully developed. A party was formed, the members of which *condemned and avoided all solicitude concerning their own spiritual condition or that of others!*" — p. 275.

Again,

"As in this party there was to be no strong feeling in respect to religion, except a strong unwillingness to be disturbed by the 'censoriousness' of others, there could of course be no vigorous opposition to a change in doctrines, no vigilance against error. A system of doctrines, too, was wanted, containing nothing to alarm the fears or disturb the repose of the members of the party." * * * "Men were suffered to forget that the Son and the Spirit have any thing important to do in the work of man's salvation; and then it became easy to overlook their existence. In this way the Unitarian party was formed and furnished with all its essential attributes."—p. 275.

Again, — after an offensive aspersion upon the decisions of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in relation to the rights of churches, and a reference after a manner customary with his sect to the case of the First Church in Dedham, which was too decisive against their assumptions ever to be

forgiven by the Orthodox, and in the expressions of their bitterness against which and the Judges who decided it, they totally overlooked the Christian law of respect for the powers that be, and incurred the hazard of a just prosecution for libellous abuse — Dr. Baird sees fit still further to remark: —

"After this decision (viz., in the case of the Dedham Church,) the existence of a church as distinct from the parish became unimportant among Unitarians." "Their churches, *as has been shown*, were never intended to be bodies from which the unregenerate should be excluded. There was, therefore, no longer any important end to be answered by their existence. Generally, it has not been thought best to disband them; but, in a considerable number of instances they have been suffered to become extinct, and there remains only the parish and the pastor, who administers the ordinances indiscriminately to all who desire it." "Church discipline, of course, has fallen into entire disuse."—p. 277.

And to add no more, as we might, to these scandalous misrepresentations, and serious misstatements of fact, (as in the instance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,) for which ignorance or absence from the scene of his remarks can afford no apology, this writer, after making some further distinctions "between the various unevangelical sects on the one hand and those that may be classed together as evangelical denominations on the other," sums up his conclusions after this wise: —

"Thus it will be perceived, that the unevangelical sects in the United States are mainly composed of persons, who in other countries would remain stupidly indifferent to religion, spending their Sabbaths in employments or amusements wholly secular."—p. 288.

We ask now the attention of the reader to the charges here intimated or expressed against the body of Unitarians in this land. They "build their faith wholly on evidence addressed to the senses:" "they condemn or avoid all solicitude concerning their own spiritual condition, or that of others:" their churches are not bodies "from which the unregenerate should be excluded;" "church-discipline, of course, has fallen into entire disuse:" "the existence of a church as distinct from the parish became unimportant among Unitarians:" and they, in common

with Roman Catholics, Swedenborgians, Christ-ians and others, are for the most part composed of persons, "who in other countries would remain stupidly indifferent to religion," etc. And it is further to be observed, that these various classes of Christian believers are included under the same general description of the unevangelical denominations with Atheists, Deists, Socialists, Fourierists, etc.

And it is thus that this compiler is pleased to designate a whole class of Christians, of whom passing by all foreign names, illustrious as they are, and omitting multitudes of our own, were Mayhew and Chauncey, Clarke and Belknap, Eliot and Howard, Lathrop and Eckley, Minot and Parsons, Cabot and Bowditch, Thacher and Buckminster, Worcester, and Kirkland, and Channing, Freeman and Bancroft, Greenwood and Ware; men who have bequeathed to the church and to the world the priceless legacy of their works and their lives, works enriched with the choice fruits of their genius and learning, and lives exhibiting all the beauty of holiness and the power of faith; pastors and pillars of churches built on a faith not of man but of God, and seeking to sustain its discipline not by angry denunciations of heretics and castings out of offenders at the serious hazard of corrupting the public morals by loathsome exhibitions of private immorality, but in a meek charity and brotherly love; of churches, which in well known examples have restored the simple faith and covenants of the first churches of New England,* and within which have been nurtured multitudes, who in church and in state, in the retired scenes of private and the highest elevation of public life, have adorned the Gospel of their profession, — men and women, not a few, who have exhibited the virtues of Christianity in their lives, and been sustained by its consolations and its hopes in their deaths.

As for the predictions of Dr. Baird, "that the career of Unitarianism as a sect or party, is drawing to a close," we would not rob him of any of the satisfaction which his sanguine hopes may afford; but refer him to the chapter in Mr. Rupp's collection under the head of "Unitarian Con-

* As in those of the First Church of Salem, already referred to, and those of the Second and New-North Churches of Boston.

gregationalists," in which the doctrines and the statistics of the denomination are briefly but fairly exhibited. We must, however, express our regret, that this article, with others in that carelessly printed volume, abounds in typographical errors for which there is absolutely no apology.*

But we turn with pleasure to a more satisfactory portion of Dr. Baird's work, which will be found in the view he has presented of the first planters of the churches in America, of the character of the early colonists, and particularly of the relations between the church and the civil government, as for more than a century after their organization these relations subsisted. Upon these topics he has collected much interesting information drawn for the most part from unexceptionable authorities, which he has well condensed, (such as Gov. Bradford's History of New England, Winthrop's Journal, Winslow's Narrative, Holmes's American Annals, and some of the best histories of the separate States,) and from which the European reader, relieved from the peculiar phraseology deforming other parts of the work, can trace for himself the origin and distinctive features of the religious institutions of the land. With those of New England our readers may be presumed to be already familiar. It may be new to some of them that in Virginia, under the original charter of James I., it

* Besides the typographical errors, with which this large volume abounds, we might mention the yet more serious deformities in the style and phraseology of many of its contributors. From such as Mr. Joseph Smith and other unlettered sectarists it would be as unreasonable to look for pure English, as for a simple scriptural faith. But among writers in this work of higher pretensions we find a strange use of terms and most unauthorised liberties with our mother tongue. Indeed the language of sectarian theology, more particularly that employed by writers of this class to mark the religious affections and experience of converts, is of the most exceptionable character; often unintelligible but to the initiated, and subjecting their histories to contempt. But there is one form of speech, which has of late obtained with authors and speakers of this description, against which, as it seems to be in growing favor, we take opportunity to utter our distinct and earnest protest. We read in Mr. Rupp's book, of things as "dangerous to community," and others which "community approves:" and again, we read that "convention was opened;" or that the subject was presented "to convention." This use of such collective nouns without the definite article is shockingly illiterate, offensive alike to sight and sound; and we are the more concerned to "abate this nuisance," as our ears have once and again been offended with it in the annual meeting of "*the* Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers;" who are bound to set a better example of speech and writing to "*the* community."

was specially enjoined, that religion should be established according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England; that in 1619 the Legislative Assembly of that Commonwealth passed laws for the formation of parishes and the regular maintenance of an Episcopal clergy; and that during the administration of Sir Thomas Smith a set of "laws, divine, moral, and martial," was enacted, from "the Draconian character" of which, as Dr. Baird not without reason styles them, some idea may be had of "the notions entertained in those times of the ways whereby religion might be promoted by the civil power."

As a curious evidence of a spirit, which advancing knowledge and experience in the art of government has happily corrected, we copy Dr. Baird's account of some of these laws.

"The first of those laws that bears upon religion enjoins on the officers of the colony, of every description, to have a care that 'the Almightie God bee duly and daily served,' that the people 'heare sermons,' that they themselves set a good example therein, and that they punish such as shall be often and wilfully absent, 'according to martial law in the case provided.'

The second law forbids, upon pain of death, speaking against the sacred Trinity, or any Person of the same, or against the known articles of the Christian Faith.

The third law forbids blasphemy of God's holy name, upon pain of death; and the use of all unlawful oaths, upon severe punishment for the first offence, the boring of the tongue with a bodkin for the second, and death for the third.

The fourth law forbids speaking disrespectfully of the Word of God, upon pain of death, as well as the treating of ministers of the Gospel with disrespect; and enjoins the 'holding of them in all reverent regard and dutiful entreatie,' under penalty of being whipped three times, and of 'asking forgiveness in the assembly of the congregation three severall Saboth daies.'

The fifth law enjoins upon all to attend morning and evening, every week-day, in the church for service, at the tolling of the bell, upon pain of losing their daily allowance for the first omission, to be whipped for the second, and sent to the galleys for six months for the third. It also forbids all violation of the Sabbath by gaming, and commands the people to prepare themselves by private prayer for the proper attendance upon the public worship, forenoon and afternoon, upon pain of losing their week's allowance for the first omission, the same and a whipping for the second, and death for the third.

The sixth enjoins upon every minister within the colony to preach every Sabbath morning, and catechise in the afternoon; to have a service morning and evening every day, and preach on Wednesday; 'to chuse unto him foure of the most religious and better disposed' to maintain a sort of spiritual police, and to see that the church be kept in a good and decent state, and that he keep a register of births, deaths, baptisms, &c., 'upon the burthen of a neglectfull conscience, and upon paine of losing their entertainment."

The seventh law commands 'all who were then in the colony, or who shall thenceforth arrive, to repair to the minister, that he may know, by conference had, their religious knowledge; and if any be deficient, they are enjoined to go to him, at times which he shall appoint, to receive farther instruction, which, if they refuse to do, the governor, upon representation of the fact, shall order the delinquent to be whipped once for the first omission, twice for the second, and every day till acknowledgment be made and forgiveness asked for the third; and also commands every man to answer, when catechised respecting his faith and knowledge upon the Sabbath, upon pain of the same peril."—pp. 88, 89.

Such were among the laws designed for the promotion of religion. They were from the first a dead letter and could not be executed. But nearly a century afterwards an attempt was made to force an Episcopal Establishment upon the people of North Carolina, although that State was divided into various religious denominations, of whom were Lutherans, Presbyterians, and many others. Yet by the zealous advocates for the English Church of that day, all these, being Dissenters, were charitably classed "as Quakers, Atheists, Deists and other evil disposed persons." Nor was the intolerance a matter of names alone. Severe laws were passed to prevent the infection of dissent from spreading through the country. Some of the most exceptionable measures of the English hierarchy were adopted in Virginia, and especially within the State of New York; of which, though the statutes have long since ceased, the spirit in no questionable forms has been preserved to the present day. We need but refer to the transactions of the late Episcopal Convention in New York, and to the controversy of which they were the occasion, for evidence of this. Rarely has the spirit of Arch-Bishop Laud or the arrogance of an hierarchy, — which builds itself upon the fable of an Apostolical succession, and with an impotence that

strangely contrasts with the presumption, assumes to itself, in this country of universal toleration, the title of "The Church," unchurching all others, — been more boldly exhibited.

In the course of his concluding remarks, Dr. Baird adverts to the misconceptions and prejudices prevalent in Great Britain, as well as other parts of Europe, in regard to the institutions, character, and condition of the United States. His long residence abroad has furnished large opportunities of knowing the nature and extent of such prejudices, and he well exposes their strangeness and injustice. Because a single State of the many of the Union has been for a season faithless to its engagements; and because at distant intervals an example occurs of popular commotion; and because religion is left, where experience amply proves that it is best it should be left, to the voluntary support of the people, — the government showing its equal favor to all by refusing to establish any, — there are multitudes in Europe, who, deceived by superficial and conceited tourists, whose chief knowledge of the country in examples not a few is picked up in its hotels, and perhaps less reputable abodes, are led to suppose that the whole nation is dishonest; that the whole country is a scene of anarchy, and that religion has no permanent authority with the people. Undeniably, amidst great privileges and exemptions, the American nation has great sins to lament, and great dangers to fear. But it will be time for Europe to condemn us, when it has learnt to understand better our state: and specially will it be time for England to reproach these United States for peculiar sins, when it has reformed its own; when it has taken the yoke, more terrible than slavery, from the necks of a starving and besotted population, dragging out their wretched existence amidst want and profligacy in their most appalling forms within their factories and collieries; when it has redressed the wrongs of oppressed and suffering Ireland; and purged its high places, its court and its palaces, its priests and its nobles, of their presumptuous transgressions. We honor Great Britain for her illustrious history, for her munificent charities, for the great and glorious things she has done for the Gospel and for mankind. But when — being tempted by her inherent love of domination — she assumes to be the reprover of

nations, we are compelled to remind her, that the preacher of righteousness to others must first teach it to himself.

Perhaps the most obvious reflection suggested by the works before us, will be that of the vast diversity of religious doctrine and speculation, as exhibited in the various creeds of the sects, whose history they present; and thence of the obstacles to the reflecting mind in the attainment of the truth. Amidst these multitudes of sects and oppositions of faith, each claiming for itself the possession of the truth, where, it may be asked, shall the humble and anxious inquirer find rest? The answer is, in the truth as it is in Jesus: in the faith, that standeth not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. Amidst the unauthorised speculations and the countless sects, which at different periods have divided the Church, the refuge of the sincere disciple is in "the law of his Lord, and in that law he meditates day and night." He can look away from the subtle theories and the vain dogmas, by which inventive minds and ambitious hearts and lordly Councils have from time to time sought dominion over faith, to "the glorious Gospel of the blessed God." And in believing in God and believing in Christ, in the hope of heaven as his home, and of an immortal life as his inheritance, he finds all his salvation and all his trust. Alike amidst the divisions of Christians and the adversities of his lot, he knows in whom he believes; and can commit the keeping of his soul and the interests of the Church unto God as to a faithful Creator. F. P.

Art. XI.—PRIMEVAL WORDS—ORPHIC.

[From Goethe.]

I have endeavored, in the following five stanzas, to compress and present with poetic compendiousness what of ancient and modern Orphic doctrine has been handed down. These few strophes contain much that is significant, exhibited in a connexion which, well understood, will facilitate to the mind the most important considerations.

Δαίμων, Demon.

As, on that day which launched thee into being,
The sun related stood to every planet,
Thy life commenced: and, with that doom agreeing,
Obeys till now the impulse which began it.
Such must thou be — thyself thy fate decreeing.
Thus did the Sibyl say — the Prophet sang it;
Nor time nor force that inwrought type can sever,
Which, through thy life, unfolds itself forever.

The connexion between the title and the strophe itself requires explanation. *Demon* denotes here, the necessary, determinate individuality of each person — unconditionally expressed at his birth; — the characteristics by which each individual is distinguished from every other individual, however great the similarity between them. This determination was ascribed to sidereal influences. And the infinitely various movements of the heavenly bodies, and their connexions with each other and with the earth, might well be put in apposition with the manifold conditions of human births. Thence the future destiny of the individual was supposed to proceed. And, granting the first supposition, it must be confessed that native force and idiosyncrasy, more than anything else, determine the destiny of man.

Therefore this stanza expresses, with reiterated affirmation, the unchangeableness of the individual. As a finite creation it may be destroyed, however determinate, but as long as its kernel holds together, it cannot be shivered or crumbled, through many generations.

This fixed, firm nature, which can only be developed through itself, comes, it is true, into manifold relations by which its first and original character is hampered in its working and restrained in its tendencies. And that which now comes in, our philosophy calls

Τύχη, Chance.

Yet hath this fixed a moveable enfolded,
That round us, with us moves, — our path pursuing.
Not by ourselves alone, by others moulded,
We learn to do as we see others doing.
And Fortune rules, now lauded and now scolded.

Youth sports with life, its graver cares eschewing.
Until the fulness of the years invite it,
The lamp doth wait the flame that shall ignite it.

It is not accident, however, that one derives his origin from this or that nation, race or family. For the nations scattered over the earth, with their various ramifications, are to be regarded as individuals, and *Chance* operates only where they mingle or cross. We have an important example of the obstinate personality of races, in the Jews. European nations transplanted to other parts of the world do not lay aside their national character, and in North America the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German is easily distinguished after the lapse of several centuries. At the same time, the influence of Τύχη is observable in cases of amalgamation, as the mestizo is known by his clearer complexion. In education, unless it is public and national, Τύχη maintains her fickle rights. Nurse and dry-nurse, father or guardian, teacher or superintendent, as well as the earliest environment, playmates, residence in the country or the city, — all these affect the individuality of man by earlier development, by hastening or retarding. The *Demon* however abides through the whole. And this is the genuine nature, — the old Adam, or however it may be called, which, as often as it is expelled, returns indomitably again.

In this sense, of a necessarily established individuality, there has been ascribed to every man his Demon, who occasionally whispers in his ear what he ought to do. Thus Socrates chose the hemlock-cup, because it behoved him to die.

Nevertheless Τύχη desists not, but acts especially on the young, who, by their inclinations, their plays, their sociality and instability are thrown hither and thither, and find nowhere abiding-place or satisfaction. Then arises, with each growing day, a more serious unrest, a deeper longing. The coming of a new Divinity is expected.

Ἔρως, Love.

It comes at length, from highest heaven descending,
Whither, of old, from chaos void it flew.
Nearer it comes, its light wings earthward bending,

And brow and bosom with spring-gales doth woo, —
Now seeming to depart, now hither tending.
Then pleasure grows to pain, so wild, so new;
And while, with fickle aims, the many palter,
The true heart worships at one chosen altar.

Under this head we are to understand every imaginable tendency, from the most delicate inclination to the most raving passion. Here the most individual *Demon* and the seductive Τύχη combine. Man appears to obey only himself — to be swayed by his own will — to indulge his own propensity, but still the accidental creeps in — something alien, that turns him from his proper course. He thinks to catch, and is caught. He thinks to win, and is already lost. Here, too, Fortune comes into play. She draws the wanderer into new labyrinths, and there is no end to his errors: for the way itself is an error. We are now in danger of losing ourselves in the idea, that what appeared to have the most individual aim is dissipated and dissolved in the universal. Therefore the rapid introduction of the two last lines is intended, by a timely hint, to show how one may escape all this error, and attain to life-long security instead.

For now it is seen of what the Demon is capable. He, the self-subsisting, the self-seeking, who, with unconditioned willing, laid hold on the world, who was vexed when Chance, on this side or on that, came in his path, — he feels now that he is not determined and moulded by Nature alone. He becomes inwardly conscious that he can determine himself, that he can not only forcibly lay hold of the object which Destiny has placed before him, but can also appropriate it to himself, and, what is more, can embrace another being like himself with eternal, indestructible affection.

Scarcely is this step taken, when, by a free determination, freedom is renounced. Two souls are to unite in one body, two bodies in one soul. And while this harmony is thus established, a third is added, to increase the mutual and loving obligation. Parent and child again unite in a new whole. The mutual satisfaction is great, but greater the common necessity. The body which consists of so many members becomes sick, agreeably to its earthly destination, in some one of its parts, and instead of rejoicing in

the whole, it suffers in its members. Nevertheless, the relation is found to be both desirable and necessary. Each is attracted by its advantages and cheerfully submits to the disadvantages. Family is joined to family, race to race. A nation is formed. The choice of the individual is found to be conducive to the welfare of the whole. It is fixed into an irrevocable law. All that loving attachment freely yielded, becomes duty — the source of a thousand new duties. And, in order that every thing may be made fast for time and eternity, State and Church and Custom establish rites. All the members, by means of the most binding compacts and the greatest publicity, provide that the welfare of the whole may not be jeoparded by fickleness or caprice.

'Ανάγκη, OBLIGATION.

And thus it stands, as in the stars we read it,
Once more. Condition, law, and all our willing
Is willing only because Heaven decreed it.
That will prevails, each wilder impulse stilling.
Each fond caprice, — the idols that mislead it
The heart renounces, Duty's law fulfilling.
With show of freedom, now, the years surround us,
While straighter limits than before have bound us.

This stanza needs no further remark. There is no one whose experience does not furnish notes enough to such a text, no one who does not feel himself painfully oppressed by the bare recollection of such states, and many a one who is ready to despair in the present endurance of them. We pass gladly therefore, to the concluding lines, to which every refined mind will take upon itself to furnish the moral and religious commentary.

'Ελπίς, HOPE.

Straight be the limits Duty's law enforces,
Let walls of adamant around us rise;
Yet know I one whose flight in triumph courses
High over all, and time and space defies:
Hail to thee, Hope! Thy airy being's sources
Are sun and mist, — thy path the boundless skies.
By thee impelled, no age, no zone can bind us,
Wave but thy wing and æons lie behind us.

F. K. H.

Art. XII. — LIVERMORE'S COMMENTARY.*

Mr. Barnes of Philadelphia led the way in the publication of popular Commentaries in this country some years ago. His "Notes" on the Gospels have had a very wide circulation; the seventeenth edition is now before us. After him came Professor Ripley of Newton, with Notes in the same style, adapted to the views of the Baptists. Mr. Livermore followed; and while we are writing, we understand a Commentary for the use of the Universalist denomination is on the eve of publication. We rejoice at these efforts in different denominations of Christians, to diffuse among the people some portion of the results of Scriptural criticism hitherto imprisoned in quartos, or barred up in dead languages. The fruits of the studies of the profoundest and most acute critics are thus placed within the reach of common readers. The laborer comes up from his daily toil to study the divine word with some of the best helps the age affords. He walks in the light which shines around the greatest scholars. We welcome all these attempts to popularise the results of Biblical criticism. They pour the river of the waters of life into the souls of the people, and will protect them from the thousand shallow interpretations which mingled ignorance and hypocrisy are circulating through the country.

Mr. Livermore undertook his work under some peculiar disadvantages. The subject of a popular Commentary had been agitated among our people for some time, and had been discussed at the Berry Street Conference more than once. Some of the best scholars in the denomination had been named as those who should execute the work, but no decisive measure was adopted. Under these circumstances it required some boldness on the part of Mr. Livermore, a young man, just from the Theological School, to undertake the task. But he did undertake it, — thanks to

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* 1. *The Acts of The Apostles; with a Commentary.* By Abiel Abbott Livermore. Boston. James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 330.

2. *The Four Gospels; with a Commentary.* By Abiel Abbott Livermore. Vol. I. Matthew. Fourth Edition. 1844. Vol. II. Mark, Luke, and John. Second Edition. 1844.

his modest courage, — and a thousand hearts this day bless him for it. The reception which his work has met with is such as must afford him sincere gratification. His labors, so far as they have proceeded, we believe, are appreciated as they deserve to be.

These volumes, as he tells us, and as we all know, were prepared amidst professional cares and labors which would have been sufficient to repel most persons from attempting the performance of so arduous a service. Yet it has been well executed. The comments on the text are adapted to the class of minds for which they were designed; and this we consider no small praise. Our Sunday school teachers and others had felt the need of something of the kind for years. Barnes's Notes had found their way into many of our societies; we know of the introduction of three dozen copies of his Notes on the Gospels into one of our parishes, to meet the wants of Sunday school teachers and Bible classes. Mr. Livermore's Commentary has now superseded their use among us. Four editions of the first volume have been called for in three years. Our readers therefore need no remarks of ours to enable them to form a correct judgment of its general merits, and we do not propose to enter into any minute or textual criticism. Yet the appearance of a new volume invites us to offer a few observations upon the character of a work for which we acknowledge ourselves under so great obligation to the author.

In determining the value of such a work it is important to keep in mind, as before remarked, that it was not written for scholars. It is an attempt to communicate to the people the results of the scholar's study. He who takes it up to find elaborate discussion of vexed questions, and careful examinations of doubtful readings, or an extended quotation of different opinions, will be disappointed, and he ought to be; for no person should be so ignorant of the difference between a critical and a popular Commentary as to look in the latter for any such things. And those who should speak slightingly of these pages because they are not sprinkled over with learned quotations, and learned languages (which means *dead* languages,) would not, we suppose, allow the people to slake their thirst at an outlet of

the Croton water works because the arches and pillars of Harlaem river aqueduct did not overshadow it.

Nor, again, should one expect in a work like this, to find all the ingenious guesses of scholars spread out to confuse the mind of the simple-hearted reader. It is not written to give the world a view of all the kaleidoskopic changes which can be made in the meaning of a passage; its purpose is to select from the countless meanings which different Commentators have found, that meaning which is most reasonable, and therefore to be preferred. Almost every conceivable meaning has been given to every passage in the Gospels already, and some which are, to us, actually inconceivable. The work of a Commentator for the people is to select rather than conjecture, and a sound judgment is needed more than a brilliant imagination. Mr. Livermore has in this respect, we think, excelled. He has not attempted to appear learned; he left his tools in his study, he did not take them to his printer. It requires some self-denial in a scholar to do this, — so to write after having spent months in preparation, that the reader will not even think that he is reading the work of a learned man, so simply and clearly is every thing expressed. We cannot but admire this absence of that learned parade which disfigures so many works of this kind.

Nor yet should the reader expect in a Commentary to find his own opinions always sustained, or never opposed. Most persons have some favorite opinion which it is very unpleasant for them to hear spoken of lightly. And it is generally true, that such an opinion is of very little consequence, and is embraced by but few persons. We have not been able to detect any such hobby of an opinion in Mr. Livermore's volumes. We think, that he adopted the true rule in adhering, in questions yet under discussion to any considerable extent, to the old and generally received opinion. Sometimes, indeed, we are inclined to think that he may have followed this rule rather too closely.

We might cite instances of what we should consider incorrect exposition, or might select passages which in a future edition we should be glad to see that the author had submitted to a careful revision. On this account we regret that the volumes were in the first instance published from stereotype plates, as the opportunity was thus denied for

subsequent emendation. But we feel no desire to point out imperfections in a work of such general excellence, and what we might deem unsound or faulty, others besides the author might, under an opposite judgment, wish to retain. We should have been glad if more space, and more time also, had been given to the Gospel of John. This part of the work appears to us to have been executed with too much haste. The second volume was carried through the press in one year — too short a time for any man to do justice to himself on three of the Gospels, and one of them that according to John.

The volume on the Acts, which has been in the hands of our readers but a short time, is the best executed part of the work. The writer was more at his ease, felt more confidence in himself. He has managed the difficult passages which occur in the book with good judgment. There is in this volume less poetry than in those which preceded it, — whether for better or worse different readers will decide differently. When we first opened the volume on Matthew, we were somewhat fearful that the poetic had prevailed over the critical. But we were wrong. It is to be remembered that Mr. Livermore's object was not to give an exposition of the Gospel simply, but such an exposition as would attract, and awaken the feelings. He did not intend to introduce his readers to a "valley of dry bones," he wished to inspire his criticisms with life.

The style of the Commentary is remarkably neat and pure. If at times, in the first volume, it may seem to some persons rather ambitious, we are satisfied that more will be attracted than repelled by the fault, if it be one. Many readers — most common readers — need something rather stirring, pointed, strong, to arouse them and get them interested. The edges of a sentence may be so pared off, the points and corners be so smoothed down, that they will rock a common reader to sleep as easily as a cradle. Mr. Livermore's racy, pungent style constitutes a great recommendation of the work. We have been the better able to appreciate the clearness and transparency, the pith and freshness, of his style from reading Barnes's Notes. Mr. Barnes writes with but little regard, sometimes to grammar, and less, oftentimes, to the ear and the taste.

The Christian spirit which everywhere pervades the volumes before us gives them great power. It needed uncommon skill to intersperse the critical, the historical, and the geographical with appropriate aphorisms and pungent appeals to the conscience. It was a difficult task to attempt to awaken the feelings in the midst of technical criticism; yet in this Mr. Livermore has been remarkably successful. Nothing has struck us more forcibly in our examination than the felicity with which he has mingled the critical and hortatory, the explanatory and consolatory. We are reminded of a good travelling companion, by whom we are pointed to the objects along the road which are worthy of our attention, as his susceptible heart is moved to unfold the beauties around us. We are surprised to find a cool spring under a frowning precipice, a green grass-plat between the forbidding rocks. In reading the work before us we have often been surprised at an aphorism wedged in between dry sentences of criticism, like a columbine smiling out from the crevice in a rock. And then again, after patiently working our way through some exposition of a contested passage, how delighted have we been to come out, — without any warning of "Practical Observations," upon a course of remarks as refreshing to the soul as a well of water in a weary land. We are pleased to observe that Mr. Livermore has united the verses of the sacred text into paragraphs. In this respect he has shown both good taste and judgment.

We are inclined to think that, as a whole, Mr. Livermore has assumed in his Commentary that more is known by our people of Biblical antiquities and history, than in reality they do know. He is not so full in explaining the manners, customs, domestic and social life, productions, and geography of Palestine, as we think he should have been. The readers for whom his Commentary is designed may be presumed not to possess a Bible Dictionary, or any work but his own to aid them in understanding the text. Mr. Barnes excels in this particular. He leaves no point to be examined elsewhere, but feels that he is furnishing all the information his readers have. Mr. Ripley has been less full than even Mr. Livermore in this particular; he is altogether too brief. But he excels Mr. Barnes in the liberal spirit in which he writes, not dragging in, without

any reference to the proprieties of time and place, the "*peculiar* doctrines" of the Gospel.

We are happy to find in the volume on the Acts, a map of Paul's travels. We confess that we were disappointed at not finding a map of Palestine in the first volume on the Gospels. If Mr. Livermore will allow us, we would advise him by all means to insert one in the next edition. But few of our people have a map of the Holy Land, and it is essential to an understanding of the geography of the country.

We like Mr. Livermore's tone of remarks, when alluding to the work of reform which yet remains for the Gospel to effect. He makes no kind of compromise with the wickedness of men, whether the misery which it causes wails at our own doors or at the distance of half the globe. He writes as feeling that all mankind are brethren, all members of one household of which God is the Father. His heart throbs with strong emotion as he contemplates each man as his "brother's keeper," as bound to watch over, and bless him. His bosom glows as he unfolds one after another of those great principles of Christianity which bind man to man, and all to God. He has a responsive feeling to the great message of the Son which breaks down all the petty distinctions of men, and teaches that the highest office is serving others, the truest and noblest conquest making the greatest sacrifice for their good.

We may add, that the last volume exhibits a due appreciation of the peculiar characteristics of the Apostles, as far as they come under the author's observation. As most of the book of the Acts is occupied with an account of Paul's labors, he dwells longer on his character than on that of any of the other Apostles, and the justice of his observations cannot but strike every reader forcibly. We may be allowed to quote a single passage as a specimen of Mr. Livermore's style. It occurs in connexion with the close of Paul's speech before King Agrippa, — "Such as I am except these bonds."

"Never was a happier turn given to the current of remark. With refined courtesy, and at the same moment with a pure and expansive Christian love, the Apostle lifted up his fettered hands, and expressed the beautiful wish of the text. True religion is not envious or exclusive; it only asks that all may taste

of the purest joys known to itself. How sublime this burst of an earnest and strong-souled nature, forgetting all distinctions between the parties — robes and chains — liberty and bondage — wealth and poverty — the royal throne and the criminal's bar — and leaping with one bound to the grand conclusion! Every enmity, and wrong, and fear is swallowed up in that deep love; and the only prayer is, that all might taste of the same celestial blessedness; but then one dark shade crosses his mind of his own woes, and he seriously and kindly said 'except these bonds.' Such was the worthy and exquisite close of this masterpiece of Christian eloquence and appeal, which bears so many intrinsic proofs that it was the product of the same mind as the glowing and affectionate Epistles."

The mechanical execution of the volumes which we are noticing is excellent. They present to the eye a clear and beautiful type. Our readers will rejoice with us at the annunciation, that we may expect in due time from the same pen a Commentary on the remaining books of the New Testament. What has been achieved is a pleasant foretaste of what is to come. The author will pardon us when we say to him, "Festina lente" — Make haste slowly; and our readers will bear with us when we admonish them to wait patiently. R. P. S.

ART. XIII. — THE MORAVIAN BRETHREN.

AMONG the most remarkable manifestations of the Christian spirit in modern times was the revival of the societies of the Moravian Brethren, or, as they choose to be called, the Brethren. Although according to traditions current among them, the Brethren had existed from almost the earliest ages of Christianity, their first appearance in history as a distinct organization is in the fifteenth century, when the sect arose in Bohemia. For a time they flourished, but afterwards through persecution and various other causes their churches were gradually scattered, and only a few feeble flocks, chiefly in Bohemia and the neighboring province of Moravia, maintained their peculiar discipline and institutions. Near the commencement of the last century these societies, under Count Zinzendorf, were

revived and extended, and by frequent emigrations established themselves in several States of Germany, and were recognised by the Lutherans as a genuine branch of the Protestant Church. By their piety, zeal, and sufferings, they commended themselves to the Christian community, and by their moral and industrious habits proved useful citizens to the various governments under which they lived.

The peculiarity of the Moravians consists not in doctrine, but in discipline, in the internal arrangement and regulation of their societies. They accepted the original Augustan Confession, and therefore in Germany no censure could be passed upon them as schismatics. But they pleaded an exemption from the operation of the ecclesiastical laws of the Lutheran Church, and the right to be governed by their own Bishops, of whom they boasted an uninterrupted succession from the early ages of Christianity. By means of certain disciplinary regulations they hoped to secure a greater and more uniform growth in the Christian spirit, to bring every individual under the frequent notice of his religious teachers and guides, to avoid the dangers incident to unrestrained intercourse with the world, and to train up the whole community in the knowledge of Christian principles and the application of them to life and conduct. Wherever it was practicable they formed congregations of believers, somewhat on the model of our modern so-called communities, — in which, however, every man was independent in his private property, and transacted business for his own profit and on his own responsibility. These congregations were divided into companies of single men and single women, married, widows, widowers, girls and boys, — and these again were subdivided into bands or classes for mutual edification. Over every company was placed a helper and over every class a leader, whose business it was to care for their souls, to inquire into their religious condition and promote their spiritual growth. Meetings for these purposes were held on certain evenings of the week and on certain hours of Sunday, when the whole congregation was not engaged in the public services. The latter were conducted by persons authorized to preach and administer the sacraments.

No religious denomination has more carefully avoided the evil of proselytism. They admitted, it is true, Chris-

tians of all Protestant denominations into their societies, but they did not require them to renounce any of their religious opinions, or to embrace those peculiar to the Brethren. Such was their reputation for peacefulness and the general integrity of their lives, as well as for industry and the excellence of their manufactures, in which they were unrivalled, that they were often invited to settle in the dominions of some neighboring Prince. Nor in mentioning their peculiarities should we overlook the fact, that they were most attentive observers of the leadings of Providence, believing what many only profess, that God interposes in the affairs of individuals and specially reveals himself to the devout and waiting mind.

Another noticeable and highly creditable trait in the character of the Brethren was their watchful care over the religious education and moral training of the young. The children attached to each congregation were regarded with an affectionate interest, and no pains were spared to educate them religiously and to qualify them to become useful members of society. This was a fundamental part of their economy, maintained with great care, and subjected to the superintendance of the ministers and their assistants. In every place where a Moravian Society was established certain members of the congregation were appointed overseers of the young, — who, in addition to their usual occupations, were to visit the children at home, to speak affectionately to them, to win their hearts to virtue, and to give them a lovely impression of their Creator and Redeemer.

Our object in this article, however, is chiefly to consider the Moravian Brethren in the character of Missionaries. As the subject of Missions is awakening special interest at the present day, a few remarks on the spirit, zeal, and perseverance which this sect has manifested, and the results which they produced, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

In forming the resolution to become missionaries to the Heathen, the Brethren literally obeyed their impulses. They believed that they were following the special leadings of God's providence and the injunctions of his spirit. With child-like simplicity, with entire thoughtlessness of self, they cast themselves on Him for guidance and support. Forgetful of ways and means, they looked only to the end

they hoped to accomplish. They overlooked the difficulties they must encounter in reaching the scenes of their labor and the greater difficulties of finding access to the minds of men of whose languages they were ignorant. They believed that if God approved the work, it could not fail of success. Their disinterestedness was beyond all praise. Scarcely consulting with flesh and blood, intending to support themselves by manual labor, never imagining that a fixed stipend and a certain cash payment formed parts of a missionary's call, they went to the work with a sincere disposition to promote, at any sacrifices, the conversion of souls to Christ. If after thirty years' incessant toil, they could retire to a congregation like Herrnhüt or Bethlehem, and there finish their days with the Brethren, they had no disposition and no cause to complain. No missionary station could be proposed so distant, so uninviting, or so liable to fatal diseases, that was not immediately supplied. Nay the more hazardous the service, the more eagerly did the Brethren press into it; — to testify in sufferings and death their sense of gratitude for the redemption they had experienced in their own souls. If ten or fifteen missionaries died within the year at the same unhealthy West Indian station, a greater number stood ready willingly and gladly to embark for the same or similar places. They were always prepared to relinquish the most desirable situation the moment they were convinced that their labors might be serviceable to Heathens or Christians elsewhere. Nor did the supply at home fail; for however numerous the calls to foreign service, the places of those that left were more than filled by persons attracted to the Brethren's establishments by the wide-spread knowledge of their Christian excellencies. As fast as these faithful servants fell asleep, worn out with toils or prematurely cut off by malignant disorders, new laborers offered themselves, endued with the spirit of self-devotion, and ready to serve God with gladness and singleness of heart. But they continued in their usual employments, till they were, from time to time, appointed to the work. Nor were females wanting, who consecrated themselves as missionaries to the remotest Heathen, cheerfully enduring toils and privations, that they might declare the truth that should sanctify and save the souls of their sisters, who were living without God

in the world. Neither the heats of St. Croix, nor the sultriness of Surinam, nor the cold of Greenland could restrain the Moravian women from obeying the call to announce the "unsearchable riches of Christ" to the dwellers in those distant lands.

Most of the Brethren were simple, illiterate men. But few of them had enjoyed the advantages of a learned education. It was natural that they should undervalue the importance of that of which they were destitute. They even doubted the good effects of extensive literary culture on those who were to convert and reform the Heathen. They feared that if their ministers and missionaries were men of extensive learning, they might gradually lose, perhaps despise the simplicity of heart and life, of manner and language, by which they had themselves so often won the hearts of the careless and indifferent. They never lost sight of their great principle, — that the word of God should be preached in purity and with clearness, — in such a manner that it might reach the minds of the humblest members of their congregations. It was their boast, as it was afterwards of the Quakers, that the simplicity of truth was restored by weak instruments, and that the message came without suspicion of human wisdom. Adopting these views they chose for missionaries men of blameless lives, of clear, common sense, inured to toil, of burning zeal, of an enthusiasm that no disappointments could damp, and a perseverance that no length of time could weary. Whatever we may think of the application of their views to our present condition, no doubt they acted wisely in their circumstances. Their principle was that of special adaptation to the work to be done and the people to be served. They said, let the Lord send by whom he will send. Every one, who offered was accepted, provided his life and conversation were according to godliness and his motives for entering upon the work satisfactory. The great idea that engrossed their minds might find its appropriate expression in the rudest forms. If the missionary honestly uttered the truth that was in his soul, he would awaken other souls to receive and appropriate that truth. Some 'slumbering echo' would be stirred into conscious existence; some spark of divine life buried beneath the ashes of sin would be rekindled; and the voice of a brother's love would win

to God and to goodness the victim of superstition and the slave of vice. In these days of easy self-complacency, when men are so apt to seek their own rather than Christ's, we can scarcely realize the single-heartedness of these missionaries, who counted not their lives dear, provided they could win souls. Their whole hearts were in the work, and we must respect, yea, venerate such devotion,

—— "For the heart
Is alike holy in its strength and weakness."

The first Moravian missionary stations were the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, and Greenland. This selection demonstrated the purity of their motives and the fervor of their zeal. Nothing short of the faith that overturns mountains could have sustained a resolution to preach the gospel to the Greenlanders and the negroes. The first missionaries arrived in St. Thomas in 1732, and at once determined to support themselves by manual labor, that the gospel might be freely preached. So devoted were they, that if there was no other way to effect their object, they would sell themselves for slaves, in order to make their Creator and Redeemer known to these Heathen. The word was gladly received by the negroes, though offered under almost every imaginable discouragement. The unhealthiness of the climate, the unsettled political state of the island, the ignorance, stupidity, and superstition of the slaves, rendered labor difficult and success uncertain. Many of the missionaries died, more were robbed, beaten, falsely accused and imprisoned, but the dews of divine grace fell upon the work, and it grew and prospered, till large and flourishing congregations of converted slaves were established, who gave satisfactory evidence by their truly Christian lives, that they had not heard the gospel in vain. From St. Thomas missionaries were soon sent to other parts of the West Indies. A visible blessing followed their labors, and the Brethren formed in all their stations societies of those who walked worthily of their high calling in Christ, giving an example of sincere and abiding conversion.

But of all missionary establishments none probably was commenced under more unpromising circumstances than that of the Brethren in Greenland. The western coast is lined in its whole extent by almost innumerable small

islands of rocks, covered nearly the whole year with ice. Through these the mainland is accessible about two months in the year, and when reached is found to be a vast expanse of dreary rocks and ice, without trees, without vegetation except moss and a little wild grass, — the soil incapable of bearing common garden vegetables. For several weeks in winter the sun is invisible, and a long gloomy night overshadows the country. So intense is the cold that, every winter, many of the natives perish through its effects. The inhabitants were among the most stupid and degraded of the human race. So little light had reached their minds, that though not without notions of a God and a future existence, it was nearly impossible to convey to them ideas of spiritual things. Their mode of living was unfavorable to missionary enterprizes. They derived their chief support from the sea, and roved along the shore, pitching their tents wherever there was a prospect of successful fishing, having no fixed abode and no ideas of home and the comforts of social life. Social life was unknown. They acknowledged no chiefs, no laws, no rules of social conduct, and held themselves accountable to no human tribunal. Each family was an entire community; and even *there* was no recognized authority. No child considered himself bound to obey or honor his father; nor did parents exercise discipline over their children. Every individual avenged his own wrongs and repaid an injury with bloody interest upon the third or fourth generation. The language they spake was peculiarly difficult to be learned, so much so, that after four or five years of unremitting toil, the missionaries were only able to converse on the most ordinary topics, nor ventured to trust themselves with subjects relating to religion and morals.

Such was the people to whom the missionaries devoted themselves with a strength of faith and firmness of purpose seldom equalled. "At our arrival," says one of their number, "we found that the inhabitants of Greenland were carried off by an epidemical sickness for many miles around; nevertheless we made a covenant and signed it, purporting that if even in ten years not one Greenlander should be converted, we would not suffer our spirits to sink, but would endure to the end." Their first business was to support themselves, and this, though painful and dangerous,

they pursued without an anxious fear. To fish, to catch seals, to preserve the oil, to expose themselves to storms and ice, to spend days together without food, to accustom themselves to the most offensive provisions, to creep, worn out with cold and fatigue, into a hole in the snow instead of a bed, and when that was filled up by more driven snow, to rise and warm themselves by running, — these were portions of their daily discipline, nor were they sufficient to dishearten or discourage them. And with all these efforts, they were scarcely able to save themselves from starvation.

For six years the Brethren labored "without the least trace of an abiding blessing and impression from the truths they had taught." The Greenlanders remained stupid, ignorant, and void of reflection. Still the missionaries never despaired of their conversion amid these seeming impossibilities. It was now found necessary to overcome the reluctance of the natives to a stationary life, and induce them to live in villages, that they might be constantly accessible. Various propositions were made and motives suggested to this end; and so obvious were the temporal and pecuniary advantages it offered, that one after another the Greenlanders accepted the missionaries' proposal, and by degrees a village was formed at New Herrnhut. In a few years it numbered above four hundred inhabitants. In the seventh year of the mission the first hopeful convert gladdened the hearts of these faithful laborers, and soon after, several others were brought into the Church of Christ by the rite of baptism.

And here it is proper to notice and commend the caution exhibited by the Brethren in receiving the converted Heathens to a profession of the gospel by a participation of the Eucharist. They demanded unequivocal evidence of regeneration, and a firm purpose to live a Christian life, with a full understanding of the trials and sacrifices which in their circumstances such a life would involve. Had they been willing to receive a nominal acknowledgment of Christianity, they might, like the Jesuits in Mexico or Canada, have added to the Church thousands of those who could have given no reason for the hope that was in them. With the Brethren religion was a matter of heart, conscience, and life, a profound and solemn reality, including

man's relation to God and to eternity; and they could not encourage the converted to a profession of it, until the way had been prepared by long and unwearied instruction and discipline.

It is not our intention to pursue the details of the Greenland mission. From its seventh year it may be considered as permanently established. It went forward with increasing activity and usefulness, till in 1763 the number of Christians at New Herrnhüt was about five hundred, and at Lichtenfels one hundred and seventy. Nearly as many more had passed into eternity in the Christian profession. Considering that the whole number of Greenlanders was estimated at only ten thousand, this will certainly be esteemed a great number of converts as the reward of less than thirty years' labor; especially when we remember that the missionaries subjected their converts to a severe discipline, and admitted none to the Lord's Supper whom they had not long tried and found faithful. Men who had lived in uncontrolled licentiousness, without laws, religious impressions or social institutions, were now seen converted to permanent habits of sobriety, chastity, industry and devotion. They had learned some of the arts of civilized life; could read and write; practised some mechanical callings; and lived in societies or villages, instead of wandering about the country without a home. They formed an orderly republic and lived as good citizens, providing for the support of the poor and the aged, and for the education of their children. And the motive to all these changes was a desire to hear the truths that related to the improvement and elevation of their spiritual nature. Some degree of civilization, as all missionaries have found, must precede a just concern for the interests of religion. The social affections must be cultivated and the intellectual nature receive a certain development, before religious truths will be appreciated. It was so here. And the success that attended the labors of the missionaries justified their efforts, first of all, to enable the Greenlanders to comprehend and value the blessings of social life.

The Brethren extended their missionary labors to Labrador, the United States, and the West Indies, to South America, to the Hottentots of South Africa, to many parts of Europe and Asia; where their efforts to promote the

knowledge of the Gospel were attended with an abundant blessing. Their policy was eminently Christian, and therefore peaceful. In what were then the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York they were surrounded by Indians, many of whom they converted to the Christian faith. They were frequently employed by the Government to conduct negociations with warlike tribes, and by their prudent and pacific behavior fulfilled those too often disregarded words of the Scripture, — "when a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."

The means by which these results were produced was the preaching of Christ crucified — Christ the manifestation of God. His life and sufferings, and especially his death, formed the chief subjects of their discourses. In illustrating the doctrine of God manifested in Jesus Christ they used a variety of expressions, which a sounder or a more scientific theology would have taught them to avoid; expressions, nevertheless, which testify to their unquestioned sincerity and their desire to reach the understandings and affect the hearts of their Heathen hearers. Of these the most common were "the merits and wounds of Jesus," "the blood and wounds of the Saviour," particularly "the holy wound in his side." "The missionaries," says one, "direct all souls to him, to seek remission of sins, life and salvation in his wounds." It is known also that they effectually taught this doctrine through the medium of hymns and religious songs. By means of this hymn-theology they indelibly impressed upon the minds of their hearers, and particularly the younger portion of them, the truths they esteemed so vitally important. A few specimens, given for doctrinal character rather than poetical excellence, will suffice.

"Five bleeding wounds he bears,
Received on Calvary;
They pour effectual prayers,
They strongly plead for me.
Forgive him, O forgive, they cry,
Nor let the ransomed sinner die."

"And now the Lamb from blemish free,
Who on the rugged, shameful tree
For me his life laid freely down,
For my true Lord and God I own."

"Thy five dear wounds torn wide for me,
My rock-holes and my refuge be."

"Think on thy Son's so bitter death,
His five dear wounds and thorny wreath;
For they have full atonement made,
For all the world a ransom paid."

"We thank him, weeping at his pierced feet,
For nought so much as his atonement great."

"When my heart beats no more,
There, where the spear his side did bore,
I have my place eternally."

Without doubt this scenic exhibition of the sufferings of Christ, simply as sufferings, may have had an effect upon the barbarous and uncultivated minds of the Heathens, all whose associations were sensual, whose spiritual nature had hitherto received no development. But it excites our wonder that the Brethren should have thought it adapted to promote pious affections and the growth of a devout spirit in all stages of intellectual culture. To say nothing of the unhappy consequences of diverting the attention from the manner and spirit in which Christ endured his trials, and from the end for which they were endured — the reconciliation of the soul to God, every one must see how easily this exclusive reference to the "bloody righteousness" of the Saviour might be perverted to the grossest blasphemy. An unsanctified imagination converts the holiest topics into occasions of raillery and ridicule; and the purest affections of the Christian heart are wounded by the application of the loftiest themes of our religion to base and sensual subjects. The Moravians soon had occasion to notice the unfavorable influences of their peculiar theology upon those who were disposed to censure and ridicule, — influences which reacted upon the communities, and occasioned disorders among themselves and deterred many from joining them. An excessive attachment both to the literal and to the metaphorical language of Scripture led them into many practical difficulties, and gave rise to a variety of abuses and excesses in words and actions. A higher intellectual culture and a more scientific development of their religious ideas might have saved them from this evil, and at the same time increased the practical influence of their preaching.

Undoubtedly the effect of the missionaries' preaching was greatly increased by the power of their own character, — by their meekness, integrity, self-denial and untiring devotion to the temporal and spiritual interests of their hearers. They were the friends, guides and instructors of the converted; and by their prudent and economical management often saved many of them from starvation. So many acts of kindness, so frequently multiplied, attached the Greenlanders to them as with bands of steel.

Our object in reviving the memories of the Brethren who have fallen asleep, was not to censure their faults or to magnify their success in a new and perilous undertaking; but to hold them up to our self-seeking age as illustrious examples of self-sacrificing benevolence. It is their purity of motive, that we admire in the Brethren. It is their child-like simplicity, their burning zeal, their desire, at any sacrifice, to preach Christ in the power of his sufferings and death, that has so endeared them to our affections. It is easy to call them enthusiasts and fanatics, but such fanaticism as theirs, if it do not command our profoundest reverence, should rebuke our indifference. With more extensive means than they, how little have we of their spirit! What facilities and opportunities are multiplied around us. Never was a louder call, or a wider field for missionary enterprise. Never were more important interests suspended on human determinations. Shall countless multitudes of our countrymen be unaffected by the truths, unsolaced by the consolations of the Gospel? Or shall the truth in its purity sanctify the affections, enlighten the minds, and bless the lives of the millions of the American people? Let others civilize and evangelize the foreign Heathen. It is a glorious, a godlike work. It is ours to evangelize heathens at home; to preach the Gospel to hearts grown callous amid the vices of civilized life; to break up the crust of indifference, which has grown over the souls of those who have been baptized into the name of Jesus; to overcome the latent skepticism engendered by unremitting devotion to wealth, ambition and sensuality. Those who shall consecrate themselves to this enterprise in the spirit of the Moravian Brethren, will erect for themselves an imperishable memorial in the gratitude of mankind. Nay, their names will be written in heaven, their record will be on high.

 J. M. M.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

A Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies existing at this day in Religion. By JOHN DAILLE, Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church of Paris. Translated from the French, and Revised, by the Rev. T. SMITH, M. A. of Christ Church, Cambridge. Now Re-edited and Amended by the Rev. G. JEKYLL, L. L. B. London. 1841. 12mo. pp. 359.

THIS is one of the old works, of great merit, called forth by the reaction in favor of Catholicism and High-Church principles in the early part of the seventeenth century. Its recent republication has been caused, if not by a similar reaction, yet by the extraordinary assumptions of the Oxford Party in the English Church, which have brought the question of the authority of the Fathers again before the public.

Before the end of the sixteenth century, the controversy between the Protestants and Catholics began to change its character. The appeal to Scripture and reason became less frequent, and the combatants shifted their weapons. Luther and his contemporaries had appealed to a few simple and great truths, to common sense, to arguments which addressed themselves to the individual conscience and reason, and above all to the Bible; and hence the great success of the Protestants. In an argument conducted in this way, they manifestly had the advantage. Of this, none were more fully aware than the Catholics themselves, and they sought therefore to change the ground of the controversy, and instead of the appeal to the Bible and to reason, to introduce the appeal to authority and to the voice of Christian antiquity. This change in the mode of warfare, which commenced in the sixteenth century, became more marked and decisive in the former part of the seventeenth. At this time the controversy was almost exclusively historical. The great watchwords were, Tradition and the Fathers. What, it was asked, do they teach? In the controversy thus conducted it often happened, that the Catholics, from their greater familiarity with the writings of Christian antiquity, or greater skill in the use of weapons drawn from the armory of the Fathers, had the advantage. Already there had been alarming defections from the Protestant ranks, and some of the greatest minds appeared to be wavering. Within the English Church there had grown up a strong party leaning to the side of ecclesiastical power, and attributing much more importance to tradition and the opinions of the Fathers, than had been ascribed to them by the founders

and early defenders of the Anglican Church. These, it is well known, were moderate Episcopalians. They did not claim the Divine right in favor of Episcopacy, nor insist on the necessity of Apostolic succession, nor the exclusive right of Bishops to ordain. On some, or all these points, Archbishop Usher, Cranmer, Jewel, and other leading divines, held moderate views. The growth of the Ecclesiastical party, — as it may be called, from its leaning to the Fathers and to tradition, and its high notions of the power of the Bishops, as well as its fondness for a pompous ritual, — however, was favored by the rise of the Puritans, opposition to them leading to the assertion of High-Church principles.

Such was the state of parties in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Many had gone back to Rome, and among the Reformed there was a powerful party, which, relying on the authority of tradition and on antiquity, (or, as they falsely called it, primitive usage,) appeared to have abandoned the great principles on which the Protestant movement had proceeded. And really, amid the obscurity, the ambiguity, the inconsistency, and frequent contradictions of that "shoal of writers," as Milton calls them, "which the great drag-net of time hath enclosed, and brought down to us under the name of Fathers," it was not difficult to prove anything, or everything, if their authority was allowed. As yet this authority, though it had been questioned, had not undergone any very thorough discussion, and was generally considered as entitled to some degree of respect. At this period Daillé stepped forth, with his "Treatise on the Right Use of the Fathers." The reputation of the Fathers received a shock from the Treatise, from which it has never recovered. Reverence for their authority immediately sank, and no little sensation was produced in the ranks of their admirers. Daillé, says Hallam, "himself one of the most learned in this patristic erudition, whom the French Reformed Church possessed, was the first who boldly attacked the new school of historical theology in their own strong-hold, not only occupying their fortress, but razing it to the ground." The effect of the book, as Bishop Warburton, in his Introduction to Julian, (quoted by the Editor) describes it, "was to bring the Fathers from the bench to the table; degrading them from the rank of Judges into the class of simple evidence; in which, too, they were not to speak, like *Irish* evidence, in every case where they were wanted, but only to such matters as were agreed to be within their knowledge." He adds, "but what it (the book) has chiefly to boast of is, that it gave birth to the two best defences ever written on the two best subjects, religion and liberty; I mean Mr. Chillingworth's 'Religion of Protestants,' and Dr. Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying.' In a word, it may be truly said to be the store-

house from whence all who have since written popularly on the character of the Fathers have derived their materials."

It is not surprising that the recent state of opinion and parties in the English Church, so analagous, in many respects, to what it was in the former part of the seventeenth century, should have caused its republication. It is exactly the book for the times. It has as intimate a bearing on present controversies as it had on those of the age in which it originated, so strangely has the same set of opinions, after the interval of two centuries, revived, and the same tendencies manifested themselves. The original treatise ("Du Vrai Emploi des Péres") appeared in 1631, and the republication bears date, 1841. It was translated into English by Thomas Smith, of Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1651. The translation has been revised by the present Editor, and the language changed where it was obscure, or had "become too antiquated and obsolete for modern times." The notes have been re-arranged, and the typography modernized.

Daillé was born at Chatelleraut, in Poitou, in 1594. At the age of eighteen he was received into the family of Du Plessis Mornay, whose two grandsons he accompanied on a tour to Italy. He travelled also through Switzerland, Germany, Flanders, and Holland, and returned to France, through England, in 1621. He appears, however, to have entertained no very high opinion of the benefits of foreign travel; and regretted to the end of his life the time he had spent in it, thinking it might have been better employed in his study. The only fruit he derived from his travels, in Italy, he says, was the acquaintance he formed with Father Paul Sarpi, at Venice. On his return he entered the ministry and established himself at Saumur, from which, in 1626, he was transferred to a church in Paris, where he officiated till his death in 1670. His writings were numerous, but the best known of them, at least that now most frequently referred to, is the Treatise on the Use of the Fathers.

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1. *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; with Extracts from Exegetical Works of the Fathers and Reformers.* Translated from the original German of Dr. FRED. AUG. GOTTTREU THOLUCK, Professor of Theology in the Royal University of Halle, by the Rev. ROBERT MENZIES. First American, from the Second Revised and Corrected Edinburgh Edition. Philadelphia. 1844. 8vo. pp. 432.
2. *Commentar zum Briefe Pauli an die Romer, von* Dr. A. THOLUCK. Neue Ausarbeitung. Halle. 1842.

THE book, first named above, is a republication of a work translated from the German about ten years ago, and published

in the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet. We presume it has been reprinted here, not because it was regarded as superior to several Commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans which are common among us, but because it bears the name of a German of some reputation, or because it was thought that it would find a sale. It is the production of a young man in his twenty-fifth year, who though possessing talents of a certain kind, has never given evidence to us of ability as a critic and expositor. We do not mean to deny that he has considerable learning, that his knowledge of ancient languages is somewhat extensive, or that he has an earnest and fertile mind. But the character of his mind appears to us to be mystical and imaginative, rather than critical. For critical tact in the application of his learning, for lucid method in the use of his materials, for logical argument, or for that exact and solid judgment on difficult passages which gives one a claim to the character of a distinguished critic, we may consult his works in vain. His method, if he may be said to have any, is so confused, that it requires no little study to find what his own view of a passage is, and when we have found it, it frequently does not reward our pains. We are not sorry, however, that the work is reprinted here. Without doubt benefit may be derived from it, especially by those who use it in connexion with other Commentaries. It is the production of an ardent mind, and of a spirit less trammelled by sect and system than most of the Orthodox Commentaries in the English language. On the subject of the purposes of God he is not Calvinistic. (See his note on Romans ix. 17, 18, etc.) His views of inspiration are more consistent with plain and undeniable facts, than those of Gaussen and them who agree with that worthless writer.

The work in German, of which the title is prefixed to this notice, is so different from the translated Commentary, as to be regarded by the author as a new work. It is much more full both in the Introduction and the Commentary. We do not find, however, that his views are essentially modified in regard to the doctrines of the Epistle. We must say, however, that he leaves us in some doubt what his settled opinions are. On the subject of the righteousness of faith, or justification by faith, he seems somewhat inclined in his later work to the more rational views of Neander, as contained in his "History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church." (See note on Romans i. 17.)

As the new volume on Romans by Tholuck was published by him early in 1842, we think that justice required that a translation of this, rather than of an inferior work, written many years ago, should have been published in this country.

N.

Summer on the Lakes in 1843. By S. M. FULLER. Boston. Little & Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 256.

WE took up this work with eager expectation. Knowing the extraordinary endowments of its author, we looked for an uncommon book, and we were not disappointed. It is indeed an uncommon book, not at all like an ordinary journal of travel. It is impossible to give an analysis of its contents, and we shall attempt nothing more than to record the impression which a careful reading of the work left on our minds.

It is a work of varied interest, rich in fine observation, profound reflection and striking anecdote. It breathes throughout a spirit of perfect benignity and love — generous, humane, and free from prejudices of every kind. In regard to all things and persons that come under her notice — especially the character of the native Indians, of whom she has collected many fine stories before unknown to us, — it would be difficult to find a writer so liberal, just and discriminating. To a class of readers who can sympathize with her in feeling and taste, and appreciate her philosophic and poetic insight, she has furnished a rare intellectual entertainment. She has imparted a new and classic interest to the uncultivated regions which surround our Northwestern waters.

Miss Fuller's book is in a high degree subjective. It is not so much a description of the beautiful lake scenery in the midst of which she passed the summer months, looking upon all things with the eye of a poet and artist, as a record of her own impressions and of the recollections they called up. Accordingly, amidst scenes so novel and striking she writes not from without, but from within. It is not that she overlooks the nature which smiles or frowns around her. She often gives us descriptions of such beauty as to show that she has an eye and a heart for everything lovely or grand in the external creation. But evidently she is much more occupied with what is passing in her own soul, than with the objective realities which present themselves to the senses.

We do not make these remarks by way of complaint. We like to have travellers, as all others, give free expression to what presses upon their own minds and hearts. In that way we get sincere and earnest books. We notice this subjective tendency of the writer as a peculiar excellence. It gives to her work its most remarkable characteristic. We can never anticipate what she will say, from knowing her point of view and the objects which surround her. She throws her own being into the outward world and gives it a new character. Niagara, Superior, the log cabin, the savage chief, are not to her what they are to another person. Forest, lake, prairie, the beauty and fragrance

of flowers, the music of birds, have all a significance and a language to which the mood of her own mind gives a peculiar interpretation. It is always interesting to observe the workings of such a mind in unwonted scenes. And this writer gives full utterance, if not to the natural impressions which external objects produce, at least to the secondary results of the reflection they excite.

This reflective tendency often draws into her journal things quite unlooked for and most remote from her field of observation — things connected by no apparent link of association with the objects which seem to fill her eye and mind. These underground associations, unintelligible to those who are not in the secret of her thoughts, sometimes give an air of pedantry to her remarks. We are persuaded that she has a mind too noble to wish to display her rich stores of knowledge for the sake of display, and therefore we find it difficult to account for the introduction of so many allusions to classic antiquity, to Europe and its arts, manners and literature. It appears often strained, unnatural, out of place. Tales also unexpectedly appear — such, for instance, as the German story of the "Seeress of Prevorst" — which have no connexion with the scenes she visited, except the accidental fact that they occurred in the course of her reading or were called up from the depths of her memory by some mysterious association. Such portions of her work might have been written as well at Boston, Rome, or Constantinople, as on the shores of our Western waters.

There is often a certain stiffness, an unnaturalness, in the style of the work. We are unable to suppose that it proceeds from defective taste in a person of so fine a culture. It results perhaps from over-carefulness and severity in a mind unwilling to trust to natural and simple impressions, and allow them to utter themselves in their own way. She does not let her thought or emotion write itself out. We cannot help feeling that the intellect is too predominant — that she is too conscious of style — that she writes under the constraint of an artistic view, in conformity with some ideal that is not congenial with her nature and does not allow it free action. She seems to be afraid of the simple utterance of a first impression or thought, as if it had not weight or firmness enough to go out of her hands without elaborate refining and re-coinage. Accordingly we find something cold, stately, almost *statuesque*, in her language. It has not the warmth of life which her heart would give it, if she would yield herself trustingly to its impulses with less of intellectual criticism. It reminds us sometimes of Coleridge, sometimes of Walter Savage Landor; yet we see no marks of imitation. It seems to us rather, that in aiming to be classical she loses sight of nature, or too sternly represses its genuine instincts

in obedience to some law which she has prescribed to herself. The beautiful flower must not bloom out spontaneously with its own shape and hue; it must be fashioned into some preordained form and its colors be retouched, before it is fit for exhibition. We make these remarks with diffidence, for we mistrust our taste and judgment when we find ourselves presuming to criticise a writer whose mind is so full of manifold forms of beauty and grace.

The Log Cabin, or the World before You. By the AUTHOR of "Three Experiments," etc. Philadelphia. 1844. 12mo. pp. 207.

THE author of this little book is so favorably known to the public that she is sure of a hearty welcome whenever she chooses to appear. She writes with a sincere spirit and the best aims. Her former works have given pleasure and instruction to a large number of readers, and are all of excellent moral tendency.

The "Log Cabin" is an unpretending story of a poor Massachusetts boy who makes his way, by his industry and good conduct, through poverty and privation to independence and respectability in a Western home. There is nothing marvellous or romantic in his success or in the events by which it is brought about. Something like it is happening in our country every day. Henry Green, the hero, tells his own story, in a quiet and simple way. The incidents of his life are few, and for the most part quite natural. Some of the characters which contribute to the interest of the story are well conceived, but not carefully developed. The principal ones are Henry's cousin Ellen — a very nice girl indeed, who became his wife, the sharper Leonard Howe, the good Quaker Ezra Collins, and Squire March, a genuine Western man.

This book will be read with interest and profit; though it is not one of the author's best. She might, with a little more pains, have made the story more interesting and valuable. It wants a completer development. The problem of Western life might have been worked out more fully without hazard of enlarging the book too much. We should like to see more distinctly *how* the new settler struggles on through the first years of conflict with wild nature, and at length works his way to comfort and independence. The writer takes for granted that we knew a good deal about the matter, and seems to be afraid of wearying us with details already familiar to us. But we will not complain. We are thankful for the good services of an author, who knows so well how to afford pleasure while she inculcates sound maxims of prudence and inspires a high sense of duty.

Alida; or Town and Country. By the AUTHOR of "Allen Prescott." New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 176.

THE title of this tale gives no idea of its character. It is a simple romance, written in good style, full of useful truths and natural incidents, but with too little plan, and too much love-crossing. In its hints as to the treatment of servants, intercourse with different classes, and right use of common opportunities of doing good, it could hardly be improved. Its whole moral tone is elevated, and its spirit of benevolence very large. Little prejudices and foolish jealousies are set in their true light. The author has studied human nature thoroughly yet generously, and drawn a picture of life which cannot fail to do good. There are passages which appeal to the deepest sensibilities and highest aspirations; and though published in what is called the 'cheap form,' it will distinguish itself from the mass of such publications, not only by a fairer page, but also by a nobler aim.

H.

A Prayer Bell for the Universal Church; being Reflections preparatory to Morning and Evening Prayer. To which are added Addresses intended for Partakers of the holy Communion. By WALTER C. PERRY. London. 1843. 12mo. pp. 112.

THE title of these few pages has a sound of pretension, yet the book itself, we should say, may be a very good help to private and family devotion, not as furnishing the words of prayer, but as suggesting trains of thought which may put the mind in a fit state to pray. This is all which it attempts. The general idea of the writer may be gathered from the following sentences, which occur among the Reflections for the seventh morning: "Jesus was not anxious to furnish formularies of prayer" for his disciples, "before the sentiments and feelings therein expressed had been awakened in the bosom. He knew that the best and truest, the only acceptable prayer, was the *inevitable* result of a certain state of the mind and soul, of believing in, fearing, and loving God. 'Out of the fulness of the heart, the mouth speaketh,' and his constant endeavor was, to fill their *hearts* with prayer." This idea has been acted upon. The book contains no prayers, but a series of appropriate reflections for seven successive mornings and evenings, which are to be read aloud in a family, after which, the members of the family, "assuming their usual attitude of prayer," are to hold silent communion with God. Thus each one may offer up an appropriate prayer of his own, instead of being compelled to listen to what may be inappropriate to the wants of his heart. The volume closes with five addresses, of which the first relates

to the origin and history of the rite of the Supper, and the others are intended to be used before and after Communion. The whole is marked by great seriousness, the sentiments are Christian, and contain as much variety as can be looked for in a work of this kind. To those who want aids to devotional thought we should think the volume, which, besides its other merits, has that of brevity to recommend it, might prove a welcome companion. L.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by Jared Sparks. Second Series. Vol. II. Boston: Little & Brown. 1844. 12mo. pp. 405.

This volume contains two Lives, of which it is only necessary to say that they are worthy of their subjects and of the "Library" of which they form a part. The first is a Life of James Otis, by Mr. Francis Bowen. It is a well arranged and agreeably written biography, the author, as he informs us in his preface, making free use of the more extended work on the same subject by the late William Tudor, but adding much from important documents which have been brought to light, partly by Mr. Sparks's own indefatigable industry, since that work was written. This is followed by the Life of James Oglethorpe, the "Founder of Georgia," by Mr. William B. O. Peabody, the volume being nearly equally divided between the two. General Oglethorpe, one of the most distinguished philanthropists of his day, well deserves a place in a collection of American Biography, and the public, we think, will be satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Peabody has executed his task. Those who may wish to extend their inquiries on the subject he refers to the "Biographical Memorials," of Oglethorpe, published by the Rev. Dr. Harris, in 1841, a work of which he speaks in terms of merited commendation. L.

Thoughts on Peace and War. An Address delivered before the American Peace Society, at its Annual Meeting, May 27, 1844. By Walter Channing, M. D. Boston: American Peace Society. 1844. 8vo. pp. 38.

Christians forbidden to fight. An Address before the Rhode Island Peace Society, at its Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting, June 30, 1844. By Edward B. Hall, Pastor of the First Congregational Church at Providence, R. I. Providence. 1844. 8vo. pp. 24.

Peace, — its Christian origin and Christian obligation, its power, nobleness, and great dignity, — the nature, preparation,

and results of war, — such are the topics which come up for remark and illustration in the first of these Addresses, and though they are of necessity treated with great brevity, yet some distinct and graphic pictures are presented, which cannot be wholly without effect. The object of the second Address, as stated by Mr. Hall, is to present "a view of the Christian doctrine of peace and war." We are not convinced of the soundness of all the writer's positions, and we have ourselves endeavored to show in a former number of our journal, (vol. i. p. 127,) that the "principles and practice of *all* the Christians of the two first centuries and part of the third," did not, as he asserts, condemn the bearing of arms as unlawful for the Christian. Still there is a great deal in the Address which is true and valuable, and to what the author says of the "evils and horrors of war" we give our most hearty assent. The subject is one which needs to be kept before the public. No doubt pacific sentiments have been gaining ground during the long breathing-time, of nearly thirty years, since the late wars in America and Europe. Still the friends of peace have yet a great work before them, and the delivery and publication of such discourses as those under notice cannot but do good. Some portion of the seed, which is thus cast abroad, may chance to fall on soil which is prepared to receive it, and may spring up, and grow, and yield healing fruit. L.

Farewell Address to the First Congregational Society, in Burlington, Vt., delivered June 2, 1844. By GEORGE G. INGERSOLL. Printed for the Society, not published. Burlington. 1844. 8vo. pp. 48.

THE Farewell Address of Mr. Ingersoll furnishes a beautiful picture of a ministry of twenty-two years. It is a modest and simple record, which seems at once to let us into the heart of the writer, telling us what he has done, and why he has done it, and stating, with due reserve and delicacy, the results. We shall not attempt an analysis of this parting Discourse, portions of which are too touching to admit of having justice done them without copious extracts, which we cannot give. The writer speaks of the principles which have governed him in his preaching, — of his pastoral labors, his calls having "numbered nearly five hundred in each year," — of his efforts to establish a Sunday school, of which he was, for some years, the sole teacher, and a Parish library, now amounting to five hundred and sixty volumes, wholly collected during his ministry, — of his connexion with the reforms of the day, and other topics, all fraught with interest. We are not surprised that such a ministry should prove too wearing to the health and nerves, especially

in a position where the preacher was deprived of the usual relief of exchanges, and "again and again for successive years" was "shut out from the privilege of welcoming a professional brother" to his pulpit. Some melancholy reflections the discourse certainly awakens, and we cannot but think that there is something wrong in the state of society, or in prevailing ideas of the pastoral relation, which exact labors so incessant and exhausting, and so sure to terminate in physical prostration and suffering. L.

Farewell Discourse, delivered in the Unitarian Church, Washington, May 12, 1844. By S. G. BULFINCH, on relinquishing his charge as Pastor of the Society. Washington. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

MR. BULFINCH'S ministry at Washington has not been a long one, extending only to six years, but these have been years of arduous service. In his Discourse on leaving, he gives a general view of what have been the prominent topics of his preaching, — the one God, our Father; the way of salvation through Jesus Christ; the practical nature of religion; the duties of love and charity; and the great realities of the future world. He briefly, and without complaint, alludes to the trials and difficulties of the position in which he has been placed, bears testimony to the uniform kindness and sympathy of his little flock, and in parting he is cheered, he says, with the reflection that he leaves the society in "circumstances of increased prosperity, devotedly attached to the institutions" of religion, and with "good hope and firm resolution" to sustain them. L.

The Morals of Freedom. An Oration delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1844. By PELEG W. CHANDLER. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 54.

MR. CHANDLER wisely, we think, deviates from the usual style and topics of Fourth of July Orations. We have had panegyric and declamation enough on our country and its institutions. It is time for "self-examination," time to look at the moral aspects of society at the present day, and especially among ourselves, — and to the performance of these duties Mr. Chandler urges us with a great variety of historical and other illustrations, and forcible and elevated appeals. If some of his reflections are of a sombre character, there is a bright side to the picture, which he does not fail to present, and we cannot but believe that such performances must exert a healthful influence on the tone of thinking and feeling in the community. L.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record.—We continue our record of changes in the ministry of our churches, occasioned by the resignation of the pastoral office, which has now become a regular article of intelligence, for which new material is furnished with every month. If we could derive comfort from the knowledge of an equally bad state of things in other denominations, their journals would supply us with large measures of such alleviation. The ministerial relation, which in its permanence was once compared to the marriage bond, is now as easily, and in many instances as speedily dissolved, as if it were an arrangement of mere temporary convenience. Cannot a remedy be devised for this evil? If not, we shrink from contemplating the loss of influence, usefulness, and even social respectability, of which the clerical profession must soon present an example. We beg our congregations to consider the effects already visible, and sure to manifest themselves in yet more unwelcome forms, of a practice into which they have fallen, in part, we doubt not, through compliance with the temper of the times; and we entreat those who are entering on the ministry to pause before they give their consent to a custom which forbids them to enjoy the associations of a home of their own planting, or to gather the fruits of the spiritual husbandry to which they shall be called. We are moved to say much on this subject, but our immediate business is to chronicle rather than to deplore events.

Rev. Mr. Chandler has relinquished his connexion with the society in Pembroke. — Rev. Mr. Morse of Marlboro' has resigned his ministry in that place. — Rev. Mr. Doggett of Bridgewater has dissolved his connexion with his people. — Rev. Mr. Stone of Mansfield has also left his people. — As likewise Rev. Mr. Tilden of Norton. — The connexion of Rev. Mr. Arnold with the church at Nashua has been prospectively dissolved. — Rev. Mr. Stone, recently of Barnstable, has returned to Calais, Me., where he formerly labored. — Rev. Mr. Motte of Boston, we should have mentioned in a previous number, has taken charge of the congregation in Greenfield and become a resident among them. — Rev. Mr. Williams, formerly of Saco, has become the minister of the society in Wayland. — Rev. Mr. Silsbee has taken charge of the congregation at Cabotville, of which Rev. Mr. Buckingham was pastor. — Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Washington, fills Rev. Mr. Barry's place at Framingham during his absence in Europe. — Mr. George M. Rice has accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the First Church in Chelsea. — Mr. Thomas Dawes has received a similar invitation from the Unitarian society in Fairhaven. — Rev. Mr. Stebbins of Leominster has accepted the office of Principal in the Theological School at Meadville, Penn., which will be opened for classes on the first of October. Of this important movement we hope to give an account in our next number, when the School shall have actually gone into operation. Mr. Stebbins will also become the pastor of the Unitarian church at Meadville.

In our own city we notice nothing of special interest. Our people are travelling, and our ministers rusticating, — all, we hope, adding strength to the spiritual, as well as gaining refreshment for the physical nature. — The society worshipping in the New North church have just resumed public services on the Lord's day, after a suspension of a few weeks for the purpose of repairing their church, the interior of which has been greatly improved in its appearance. — The congregation of the New Jerusalem Church, who have for many years occupied a neat but small chapel in Phillips Place, are erecting a much larger house of worship between Bowdoin Street and Somerset Court. — We learn from other journals that a union has been formed between the Trinitarian societies worshipping in Green Street and Garden Street, by which two feeble churches have been converted into one strong congregation — a very wise step. Rev. Mr. Chapman, formerly of the Garden Street Church, has been installed as colleague pastor with Rev. Dr. Jenks, over what is now called the Messiah Church.

The practice of giving sacred names to churches, which seems to be growing in favor, is one which we have never wished to see adopted. It appears to us better to designate the building by its location. But whatever may be thought of the propriety of giving such names to religious edifices, we wonder that the Christian sensibilities of people are not shocked by their appropriation to structures or institutions designed for other than religious purposes. The Board of Trustees of Washington College in Hartford, Conn., (established and patronised by Episcopalians,) we see, have changed the name of that institution to "Trinity College." In passing along one of our principal streets lately, our eye was caught by a placard announcing that "*Trinity* School for Boys" was open for the reception of pupils. To us, anti-Trinitarian as we are, this seems absolutely profane. If there be a word in the whole compass of language, which, *according to the interpretation given it* by those who adopt it in their theology, should be uttered with the most profound and trembling reverence, it is this, the title of all that is mysterious and ineffable in the Divine Being — this word, which expresses all the relations of the Deity to his universe as well as the unsearchable glories of his nature. And this word is to be placarded in our streets, and put at the head of every College announcement, and be as familiar to the mouths of children in their play, as if it meant nothing that was awful or sacred! What would be thought of an advertisement with this introduction— "The Triune God School for Boys"? Yet, to a believer in the doctrine of the Trinity, what is the difference between this title and that which we have quoted? American Protestants in this age should be ashamed of such imitation of European folly.

The First Unitarian society in New York — under the care of Rev. Mr. Bellows — are erecting a new house of worship in an eligible situation near Broadway, and nearer to "the upper part" of the city than the ground occupied by their former house. This they sold some time ago, as it both needed repairs and was too small for their use, and have since worshipped in a Hall. — The congregation in Salem, under Rev. Dr. Flint's care, have resolved to take down their ancient meetinghouse, and erect one more suited to modern notions of taste and convenience.

Ministry at Large. — It gives us much pleasure to hear of the introduction of this form of Christian beneficence, which has been found so successful here, in other places. A ministry to the Poor was established in Providence, R. I., under Rev. Mr. Harrington, about two years since. Mr. Harrington having concluded to accept the invitation extended to him by the society in Albany, the supporters of this enterprise in the former city have engaged the services of Mr. William G. Babcock of Boston, a graduate of the last class at the Cambridge Divinity School, who has entered upon his work. — The members of the Unitarian society in Lowell have established a similar ministry in that place, and appointed Rev. Mr. Nightingale, of Athol, incumbent. — The Unitarian congregation in Louisville, Ky., having determined to support a minister at large in their city, invited Mr. William S. Farmer of Boston, who has lately finished his studies for the ministry, to spend a year or more in that field of labor, and he accordingly went on and began his service in May. — The society in St. Louis, Mo., in the execution of a similar purpose, appointed Mr. M. DeLange, who had been pursuing his professional studies with Rev. Mr. Eliot, to the office of city missionary, and he commenced his labors in July. — In Baltimore, Md., Rev. Mr. Dall has been for more than a year prosecuting this work of charity, sustained by the subscriptions and sympathies of members of the Unitarian society. — In Boston the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, having been relieved from the embarrassment of debt and enabled to increase the number of their ministers, have appointed Rev. Warren Burton to visit and preach among the poor in connexion with Rev. Messrs. Waterston and Sargent. — In the Western cities which we have named, day schools for the children of the poor have been established under the oversight of the ministry at large, and augment the annual expense incurred for its support. The opportunities which the public schools in this city afford to all the inhabitants for the education of their children have rendered such a measure unnecessary here.

Cambridge Divinity School. — The Annual Visitation of the Divinity School at Cambridge took place on Friday, July 12, 1844. The graduating class was unusually small, consisting only of four young men, who read dissertations on the following subjects: — Mr. William G. Babcock — "Knowledge of physical laws indispensable to the Christian minister;" Mr. Rufus P. Cutler — "The Church of the past and the Church of the future;" Mr. Thomas H. Pons — "The grounds for expecting the prevalence of a more rational theology;" Mr. Hiram Withington — "The mystical element in religion." The exercises were attended in the College Chapel, and drew together a respectable, though not a very numerous audience.

In the afternoon of the same day the Association of the Alumni of the Divinity School held their annual meeting, and on the choice of officers elected Rev. Convers Francis D. D., *President*, in place of the late Rev. Dr. Ware; Rev. Ralph Sanger, *Vice President;* Rev. Chandler Robbins, *Secretary;* Rev. William Newell, Rev. C. A. Bartol, and Rev. F. D. Huntington, *Committee of Arrangements.* Rev. William B. O. Peabody D. D. of Springfield, was chosen to deliver the annual Address the next year, in case of the failure of Rev. Dr.

Lamson, appointed at the last anniversary. On motion of Rev. S. K. Lothrop the following resolution was adopted:—

"*Resolved*, That this Association deeply lament the loss they have sustained during the past year in the death of their President, the late Henry Ware jr., and that they would place upon their records some expression of their gratitude for his eminent services to the Church and the world, their reverence for his exalted worth, and the affectionate veneration in which they will ever hold his name and memory."

A Committee consisting of Rev. G. E. Ellis, Rev. Dr. Noyes, and Rev. H. A. Miles, was appointed to consider what provision can be made for the relief of destitute preachers, and what means be taken to give greater stability to the ministerial office.

The Association adjourned at 4 o'clock, from the chapel to the parish meetinghouse, to hear the Annual Address, from Rev. Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D. D. of Boston. The subject of the Address was, "The posture of our religious times;" under which title notice was taken of various movements and tendencies that have of late manifested themselves among us, of which Dr. Frothingham spoke with frankness, discrimination, and courtesy.

The Annual Sermon before the graduating class of the Divinity School was preached on Sunday evening, July 7, by Rev. Ephraim Peabody of New Bedford, on the Importance of religious doctrine — as seen in its connexion with duties, with motives, and with the devotional sentiment.

A Catalogue of the Alumni of the Divinity School has been published this year, for the first time. It was evidently prepared with much care; and contains not only the names of those who have left the School, with the period of each student's connexion with it, but the place of his birth, the place and year of collegiate graduation, the place and time at which, if settled in the ministry, he was ordained or installed, the date of the resignation of any particular ministry, and notice either of the time of his death or of his present occupation. The year 1816 is taken as "the first year of the existence of the Theological School in Cambridge, as then Dr. Ware gave instruction in Systematic Theology and other branches, and Mr. Norton in Sacred Literature," and in 1817 "public exercises, or the public reading of dissertations, somewhat similar to the present Annual Visitation, first took place." "From a very early period," however, as is well known, "theological students had resided at the University, and pursued their studies in their own way, with occasional advice and assistance from the Professor of Divinity." But "the first attempt towards a systematic arrangement of regular studies in the department" of theology is assigned to the year 1811, when "Dr. Ware, the Hollis Professor, began a course of exercises with the students in Divinity." Within the twenty-eight years which the Catalogue allows to the School as an actual institution two hundred and thirteen have been prepared for the ministry by its instruction; of whom one hundred and eighty-one have been ordained as Pastors of churches or as Evangelists, though of these some have since entered upon other employment.

Missionary Board.—The Committee of Ten, appointed at the annual meeting of the larger Committee who have charge of the

work of collecting and distributing funds for missionary and other kindred objects, as mentioned in our last number, have issued a Circular in which they invite attention and contributions from our churches. Having succeeded the first year in raising the sum of $10,000, they hope the present year to obtain a much larger amount. According to instructions given them to employ one or more Agents "to visit our Societies for the purpose of interesting them in missions, of collecting money, of procuring theological students, and of making public, information on these subjects," they have appointed Mr. George G. Channing, "Missionary Agent for the present year." He proposes to open a correspondence immediately with the societies in our denomination, and to visit them during the year with the intention of holding meetings "whenever it may be thought desirable to bring this matter before the people." The Committee refer their friends "to him for whatever information they may wish to obtain, or whatever aid in making their efforts they may wish to receive." From the Treasurer's statement appended to the Circular it appears, that the last year contributions to this Fund were received from forty of our religious societies, in some cases through a general subscription, and in other instances from a few members or a single individual.

Dissenters' Chapels Bill.—A bill has just passed through the British Parliament, and received the royal assent, which has important bearings upon the interests of Unitarian Christianity in England and Ireland. The success of the attempt made in the Lady Hewley case to deprive Unitarians of the benefit of funds over which they had for many years exercised a righteous control, emboldened certain sectarists in Dublin to institute proceedings against the Eustace Street congregation in that city, for the purpose of wresting from their possession the meetinghouse in which they and their fathers had worshipped for more than a century, and the burial-ground in which they had deposited their dead. The Court decided, on the same principles as in the Lady Hewley case, that the title of the congregation to such property was invalid. The decree of judgment however in this case has been suspended. The Unitarians saw at once that they would, by similar methods, be ejected from all the chapels, which they held as the rightful successors of the old non-subscribing Presbyterians. Representations of the extreme hardship and gross moral injustice of which they would become the victims, as well as of the mischiefs which must accrue to other Dissenting denominations, and the interminable law proceedings that would arise, from thus unsettling titles to property which had stood without question for generations, were made to the Ministry in London, who gave them a candid attention. A Bill was prepared and presented to Parliament, the effect of which would be to legalize the holding of their ancient houses of worship by Unitarians, so far as their doctrinal opinions might have operated to their ejectment. The Bill was strenuously opposed by some of the Bishops and other members of the Established Church, and by the Trinitarian Dissenters in general, but it was supported by the most eminent legal authorities of both political parties, by the Ministry, and by distinguished speakers in the House of Commons. It passed through the House of Lords by a

large majority, and was then sent to the Commons, where it encountered a yet more vigorous opposition, petitions against its passage being poured in from various quarters. These were met however by petitions in its favor, from others than Unitarians, and were counteracted by the intrinsic justice of the proposed measure. It passed here by a very great majority. Upon being returned to the Upper House with amendments the struggle for its defeat was renewed, but ended in the final passage of the Bill with the amendments by a vote of 202 to 41. In the House of Commons able and effective speeches were made in favor of the Bill by the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Shiel, the Roman Catholic, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell; and in the House of Lords by the present Lord Chancellor, three Ex-Lord Chancellors — Lyndhurst, Brougham, and Cottenham, and also by the Bishops of Durham and Norwich, while the Bishops of London and Exeter appeared as its most earnest opponents.

By this Bill it is provided that "the usage for twenty-five years shall be taken as conclusive evidence that such religious doctrines or opinions or mode of regulating worship as have for such period been taught or observed in such meetinghouse, may properly be taught or observed in such meetinghouse, and the right or title of the congregations to hold such meetinghouse, together with any burial-ground, Sunday or day school, or minister's house attached thereto, and any fund etc., * * * shall not be called in question on account of the doctrines or opinions or mode of worship so taught or observed in such meetinghouse;" provided always that no particular doctrines be specified in the trusts creating such property. The immediate effect of the Bill therefore is, to relieve the Unitarians from the apprehension of being violently, though by legal forms, driven from the chapels which they have inherited, and many of which they have repaired, and to secure them in the possession of their manifest rights. But a more important benefit will result from the character of the discussions which arose as the Bill proceeded through its several stages, and from the progress which its passage indicates in the admission of liberal principles on the part of the British Government. If the Unitarians had lost their chapels, they might have been for a time embarrassed or discouraged, but they would have built others, and perhaps have derived strength from the conviction that they must rely on their own efforts alone for existence. Now they will draw an advantage, which it is impossible to measure, from the attention which has been turned upon them, and from the more permanent hold which justice has acquired on British legislation, in spite of religious bigotry and worldly fashion. We congratulate them on the result which we have recorded, and trust it will but give them new animation for future efforts in behalf of truth and righteousness.

Installations. — Rev. ABNER D. JONES was installed as Pastor of the Unitarian church in MANCHESTER, N. H., July 10, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Putnam of Roxbury, from Luke xx. 21; the Prayer of Installation was by Rev. Mr. Frost of Concord; the Charge by Rev. Mr. Gage of Petersham; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; the Address to the Society by Rev. Mr. Gilbert of Harvard; and the other services by Rev.

Messrs. Whitwell of Wilton, N. H., Wood of Tyngsboro', and Thomas of Concord, N. H.

Rev. NATHANIEL WHITMAN was installed as Pastor of the First Church and Society in EAST BRIDGEWATER, Mass., July 17, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem, from Psalm xxvii. 4; the Prayer of Installation was by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth; the Charge by Rev. Mr. Richardson of Hingham; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Sanger of Dover; the Address to the People by Rev. Mr. Whitman of Portland, Me.; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Briggs of Plymouth, Pope of Kingston, and Sewall of Scituate.

Dedication. — The meetinghouse recently erected by the new Unitarian Society in Southington, Conn. was dedicated to the purposes of Christian worship by public religious exercises, July 17, 1844. The Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Farley of Brooklyn, Conn.; the Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Brazer of Salem, Mass., from 1 Peter i. 23; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Farley, and Pierpont of Boston.

The Unitarian Society at Trenton, N. Y. having repaired their meetinghouse erected in 1815, and having entirely remodelled the interior, it was dedicated anew on Sunday, June 23, 1844. The services were all conducted by the minister of the congregation, Rev. Mr. Buckingham. The house, which was originally divided into pews owned by proprietors, has by their voluntary relinquishment of their individual rights become free to all worshippers.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

New Works. — Mr. A. D. Phelps of this city has published a thin 18mo. book entitled, "Consolatory Views of Death: addressed to a Friend under Bereavement: to which are added, some Prayers in Affliction. By Henry Colman." It was first published, we believe, by the author in London. — A Memoir of the Life of the Late Bishop Griswold, by Rev. Dr. Stone, has just appeared. — Rev. J. McLeish, a clergyman of the Protestant Methodist Church, has reprinted in this city, "The Life of Rev. John Wesley M. A. By John Whitehead," from a copy which after much research he found in the city of Dublin. — Messrs. Jenks & Palmer have published, "The American Elocutionist; comprising Lessons in Enunciation, Exercises in Elocution, and Rudiments of Gesture," with illustrative Selections by William Russell, one of the most accomplished of teachers. — A new edition has been issued, by Messrs. J. Munroe & Co., of "Devotional Exercises for Schools and Families," — a very useful selection of portions from Scripture, to which in this edition are added several hymns.

We cannot but mention here the appearance of a new Journal, which both from its purpose and the promise which the first number gives of its future character, we think entitled to a liberal encouragement. It is "The American Journal of Insanity; Edited by the officers of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, Utica." Its object "is to popularize the study of insanity — to acquaint the general reader with the nature and varieties of this disease, methods of pre-

vention and cure." It will be published in quarterly numbers of 96 octavo pages, at the moderate charge of one dollar.

Works in Press. — James Munroe & Co. have in press a new volume by Rev. G. W. Burnap of Baltimore, entitled "Lectures on Unitarianism." — They will also publish in a few days another volume of "Essays by R. W. Emerson." — They will shortly put to press, "Letters from a Landscape Painter. By Charles Lanman," Author of "Essays for Summer Hours." — Also "Notes on Cuba. By a Physician" at the South. — Likewise a second volume of Chalmers's "History of the American Colonies" from the original manuscript of the author, recently received in this country, and never before published.

Normal Schools. — The experiment which was commenced in this Commonwealth five years since, of educating teachers for our Common Schools, has been attended with all the success which its friends anticipated. In spite of the disadvantages incident to a novel enterprise, the distrust and prejudice of many of the people, and the secret or open hostility which was encountered from some quarters, the schools, established partly by means of appropriations from the Legislature and in part by the liberality of a single individual, have continued, from the time they went into operation, to gain favor, and by the results which they have furnished to the most suspicious observation have now secured a general acknowledgment of their value. The School at Barre was suspended after the death of Mr. Newman, its excellent teacher, and will now be resumed at Westfield. The School at Lexington will also close at that place, and be removed the next term to West Newton. The removal "is occasioned solely by the want of sufficiently ample accommodations at Lexington. The School has outgrown the building it has hitherto occupied. Not more than one half the pupils who have applied for admission within the last year, could be adequately accommodated with school-room." Rev. S. J. May, who has had charge of this School for the last two years, has resigned the office, to which Mr. Cyrus Pierce who was Principal of the School during the first three years of its existence, having recovered the health which he had lost in its service, has been re-appointed. The Westfield Normal School will be under the charge of Rev. Emerson Davis, who has for many years been at the head of the Westfield Academy. The School at Bridgewater remains under the care of Mr. Nicholas Tillinghast. "The school at West Newton is for females exclusively; those at Bridgewater and at Westfield for both sexes. All applicants for admission, if males, must have attained the age of seventeen years, and of sixteen years, if females. As a pre-requisite to admission, they must declare it to be their intention to qualify themselves to become school teachers. Tuition will be gratuitous to those who are inhabitants of the State and who declare it to be their intention to become teachers in the Public Schools of the State. Others will be charged a tuition fee — probably eight or ten dollars a term, each term consisting of fourteen weeks. The whole expense of board and washing need not exceed two dollars a week, at either of the Schools, and may be reduced much below this sum."

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1844.

Art. I. — PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.*

A momentous period has arrived in the Roman Catholic Church. That Church is divided on this great question: shall the Catholic Church conform itself to the light, liberty and science of the nineteenth century; or shall the nineteenth century conform to the doctrines and rules of the Council of Trent? Germany, France, Belgium, and even Spain take the side of civil and religious liberty, against the Church; while Austria and Italy advocate the continued despotism of the Pope. This controversy is having a prodigious influence on Protestantism in Europe. The Catholics who do battle for modern science and progressive civilization find themselves unawares among Protestants, wielding Protestant weapons. In the mean time the true and avowed Protestants welcome even such reluctant

* 1. *Vues sur le Protestantisme en France:* Par J. L. S. Vincent, l' un des Pasteurs de l' Église Reformée de Nismes. Paris. 1829.

2. *Lettre à M. Guizot, Membre du Consistoire de l' Église Reformée de Paris; sur son article de la Revue Française, intitulé: Du Catholicisme, du Protestantisme, et de la Philosophie in France:* Par Athanase Coquerel, Ministre du Saint Évangile et l'un des Pasteurs de cette Eglise. Paris. 1838.

allies to their ranks; and this singular commingling of different parties makes it very difficult to give a well-defined idea of Protestantism in the Old World. By selecting France as the best illustration of all parts of the question, we propose in this article to consider briefly the state of Protestantism in that country.

If one asks, what position France occupies; we answer, Germany invents, France proclaims, and England practises. France loves nothing so much as to diffuse herself. She is the declarative nation of Europe; and Protestantism has advocates there whose voices of power are heard from one end of the continent to the other. One cannot listen long to the debates of the Chamber of Deputies without hearing from the Tribune some sentiment like this, — 'The world looks to France to take this first step in an advancing civilization.' In a country where such a spirit reigns the world may look for high and noble efforts, though peradventure mingled with obtrusive vanity and startling error. The French Protestants believe that they are now leaders of the van in the new conflict which the nineteenth century is beginning to wage with the Roman See; and in this they are correct; and they will not rest until they have carried their banners to the walls of the Vatican. If we could presume to condense into a single phrase what hundreds of volumes say on this subject, it would be this: — The Protestants maintain, that the central life and true essence of Romanism is *authority*, positive, uncompromising authority; while Protestantism is the exact opposite of this, viz. *liberty*, well-defined, practicable liberty. The Romish Church never *asks*; it always *commands*. The question therefore is, — whether the nineteenth century is ready to bow down its neck to positive, uncompromising authority, in preference to exercising a well-defined, practicable liberty? We think that a very large majority of the intelligent and pious in France believe that the nineteenth century has passed the day of Romish authority in matters of faith, and that freemen can never return to servitude.

The tendency of public sentiment in almost every part of Europe is towards liberty in opinion; and we think that one hundred years from this day will see the distinctive authority of the Romish Church reduced to a name. Its forms will doubtless remain; but, we repeat, its distinctive

authority must cease. And we venture further to predict that that Church will see the policy of walking even with the present age, and will gradually conform to the new developements of civilization, and thus in time lose itself, like a Gulf Stream, in the surrounding sea of civil and religious freedom.

We wish we had space for proofs; but we will select one or two only as examples.

The "Roman Apostolic Constitutions" maintain the principle, that the spiritual power is as superior to the temporal as the heaven is superior to the earth, the soul to the body, and the spirit to matter. They maintain that the Church possesses the ultimate power in things pertaining to salvation. There is not an example of Papal amnesty in history. Romanism is *infallibility*; and infallibility does not ask for faith, it demands submission, and is never satisfied until reason abdicates in favor of its sovereignty. From its very nature infallibility is fixed, inexorable and deaf. It can have no conditions, no degrees. It holds itself to be unvaried, eternal truth. It cannot retreat, or waver, or sympathise. It binds the human mind in destiny's chain, forbidding liberty of opinion, conscience, and speech. Hence out of this Church there cannot be salvation. (Acts of Council of Trent.) Even so late as May 27, 1832, it is asserted in a Papal bull to the Bishops of Bavaria, that "there is no salvation out of the Roman Catholic Church;" and on the 25th of June, 1834, the Pope publicly condemned "unlimited liberty of opinion, of conscience and of speech;" and he has recently condemned Bible Societies, Tract Societies and Protestant Missionary Societies. The Emperor of Austria in a late decree has forbidden his subjects to embrace Protestantism without his permission! This provident imperial edict is adroitly directed against advancing Christian liberty; such liberty being now pressed around Austria like water round a diving-bell. The wary advisor of the Court has given us in this decree a remarkably fair specimen of the true Roman Catholic policy; a continuation of the spiritual reign of terror. Many of the elder members of the Catholic clergy still hold strongly to the ancient ideas, and they wish the Church should say to legislators, "Conform your laws to the Church or we will absolve your citizens from their allegiance." The younger

Catholic clergy say, that this spirit is adverse to the established forces of society, adverse to the French Charter, and subversive of the independence of the Tribune; and that France will not let any one religion absorb the civil law. But what are the facts? Have meliorations come? Certainly the changes have been great. In France, at the present time, science, philosophy, literature, social manners and prevalent maxims are mainly Protestant. They are all based on freedom as opposed to infallibility and dictation. The old, ready and quiet reliance on the *ipse dixit* of the confessor is now fatally weakened, if not finally broken; and if there be much Catholicism yet lurking in the minds of the young and intelligent, it is an *artistic* Catholicism, which regrets that Luther did not protect the fine arts like Leo X, or build a Protestant basilica to equal St. Peter's. These Catholics go into ecstasies of faith before the beautiful devils and winged angels of the Benita, and are wrapt in poetic devotion before the graceful groups on the antique cathedral windows; they are irresistibly impelled to worship God because they are enamored with Gothic architecture, and to worship the Virgin because she has had a Raphael. To ask such if they feel bound to go to mass, or if they believe in the real presence, or in the infallibility of the Church, or in there being no salvation out of it, or that unbaptized infants are damned, or that auricular confession is indispensable, or the celibacy of the clergy a divine injunction, or the establishment of monks and nuns judicious, or that plenary indulgence can be given by a man, — to ask them thus, would be, in their estimation, about the same thing as to ask them if they had lost their senses.

Further confirmation of these views we constantly found in France, whenever we talked with young Peers, young members of the Institute, young lawyers, young Deputies, and especially with young Professors in the University. Even among the selected orators, reserved to preach at Notre Dame during Lent, the like impressions obtained. Their subjects were not the errors of Protestantism, or the real presence, or plenary indulgence, or anathemas against the Heathen, or Romish infallibility, or the uncertainty of the ages of purgatory; but their sermons were exhortations to a holy life, recommendations of Christian faith and fidelity to the Church; sermons against materialism, against

anarchy in opinions, and the hardihood of systems; but especially, sermons upon what the Roman Catholic Church has done for science, literature, philosophy, civilization, and even liberty.

Why this singular change in the oracular pulpit? Because thinking men will not tolerate the old topics; society has passed them, and will not consent to be carried back each Sunday a hundred years and listen to a homily on the beauties of an Inquisition or the duty of burning heretics. A fact will illustrate this subject. In 1817, at Puy Laurent, where there were Protestants enough to entitle them to a pastor, the Mayor ordered all the inhabitants of that Commune to adorn their houses when Catholic processions passed, by hanging out of their windows ornamented cloths, hearth-rugs, carpets, tapestry, etc. On the occasion of the Fête Dieu one young woman and two middle-aged men, in consequence of not complying with the public order, were summoned before the tribunal of police and condemned! An appeal was made, but the judgment was confirmed in the "Correctional Tribunal." The condemned then had recourse to the highest court in the country, viz, that of "Cassation." This body also confirmed the previous decisions, on the 29th of August, 1817. In 1819 the Court of Cassation seemed to have got some light; for on a second appeal to them they decided that "Roman Catholics could be forced to adorn their houses, but not Protestants, because this would touch liberty of conscience." Before this time every Protestant was roughly accosted with "Off with your hat, down on your knees," whenever a Catholic procession passed through the streets. These processions are now forbidden, and for the last few years we have not seen one in France. Two short anecdotes came to our knowledge which further illustrate this subject. A distinguished Catholic clergyman was asked, "Why do you compel children to come to their first communion at so early an age?" He replied in a whisper, "If we did not compel them to come at ten and eleven years of age, and before their reason was much developed, they would not, in the present state of public opinion, come at all." The other anecdote speaks louder. The Preceptor of one of the first seminaries in Paris had among his two hundred pupils several Protestants. A Protestant clergyman re-

quested him to allow them to join his weekly Bible Class. The preceptor emphatically refused, and on being pressed for his reasons, said, "I fear the comparison of the Catholic and Protestant doctrines." These facts show the signs of the times, and though "no bigger than a man's hand," announce the end of the drought and the coming of fertility.

The same result appears, if we consult the leading scholars on each side. Do Catholic critics now endorse the vote of the Council of Trent which stamped the Vulgate as the only true text? Certainly not. Jahn, whose Biblical Archæology and Introduction to the Old Testament are monuments of his genius and industry; Hug, the real creator of the division of Greek manuscripts into families, a system which has done for religious knowledge what Cuvier's system did for comparative anatomy; and Scholz, who went through an European and Oriental tour for exegesis, thus closing the discussion on the authenticity of the sacred text; these ripe German scholars were Catholics, writing and acting like Protestants. The intelligent Catholics see clearly the tendencies of the age; but having particular reasons for upholding the ancient organization, they wish to adopt principles which shall gradually bring in the true conservative maxims of progress; thus making their Church march at the head of modern civilization. They know well that the tendency of Romanism is to solder all men together in one compact mass, and that in this all-absorbing unity the individual is lost. They know well that the nineteenth century is going to insist on individual thought and individual responsibility; and that Protestantism distinctly individualizes mankind, and thus appeals to one of the deepest principles of our nature. Knowing these things they have already said, *we want Protestant principles without Protestants.* The thinking men of this class are very numerous in all parts of Europe. Though the number of *avowed* Protestants is comparatively few in France, the age is stronger than Romanism. Europe gains every month more in Protestantism than in Protestants. There are many who would advocate Protestant principles, while they stand on Catholic ground; they would patronize discussion, while they acknowledge the Pope's infallibility; they would contend for liberty of opinion, while they concede to the Church its authority; and would even give the Holy Scrip-

tures to the people with their right hand, while with the left they gave the Prayer-Book and the rosary. This mode of approach towards the light, now adopted by the Romish Church, is copied from the boatman who turns his back towards the place to which he is rowing. It is really and truly an approach towards the light, and it augurs well for humanity; but the reformers yet entrench themselves behind Napoleon's maxim, "all *for* the people, nothing *by* the people." We are very confident that Romanism can live permanently in the United States only by conforming to the liberal views above described, only by running parallel with that republicanism which emphatically individualizes mankind. That it is spreading under any other form we cannot believe, although his Holiness told us in private that his Church was greatly flourishing in the United States; which remark most forcibly reminded us of certain trees whose outer branches show a few green leaves, the only sign that any sap is mounting from the roots.

Legislation in France wears the same feature of progress towards liberal sentiments. We cannot enter here on this wide subject, but would merely say that the present laws forbid Catholic preachers to speak reproachfully of any Christian sects or Christian ministers. The revolution of 1830 dissolved the connexion between the Roman Catholic Church and the State, left to all sects the liberty of conscience and worship, and forbade them all to interfere with the civil power. Furthermore, the Seminary at Paris founded for the Pope, and the University founded for the country are often in direct hostility; and recently in a conflict between these two bodies the King has sustained the University, and thus put his veto on the Pope. The whole legislation of France shows that she wishes Christian liberty, and that she is mistress of herself. She will not go for religion to the Canons of any Council nor to the Confessions of any Synod; she will make her religion, as she has made her liberties, by her own choice.

The preceding facts and reflections are necessary to show the exact position of Protestantism in Europe, as well as to reveal what it has already done for Christian truth and progressive civilization. We would now speak of the Protestant churches of France as disconnected with Romanism.

There are two millions of avowed Protestants in France;

and half of the rest of the population are neutral; and half of the remainder are but cool adherents to Romanism. The Protestants are divided into two Communions; first, that of the "Confession of Augsburg," and secondly, that of the "Reformed Church."

The organization of these Communions is somewhat different, though the laws regulating them are the same. As these laws show the condition of Protestantism in its political relations, we will copy a few; and shall not go back farther than 1802. The 15th of August, 1802, saved France from anarchy, because then was secured the liberty of worship. That day heard Bonaparte proclaimed First Consul for life. During the first Consulate a law, denominated that "of 18 Germinal of the year X," containing the articles for regulating Protestant worship, was drawn up, and is now in force to a great extent. Some of its provisions follow: —

"No doctrinal decision or dogmatic formulary under the title of *Confession* shall be published or taught before the Government has authorized its promulgation."

"No change in discipline shall be made without the consent of the Government."

"The Counsellor of State shall be informed of all the plans of actions among the clergy and of all disputes which may arise between them."

"There shall be two Seminaries in the East of France for the preparation of clergymen adhering to the Augsburg Confession; and there shall be a Seminary at Geneva for the preparation of clergymen belonging to the Reformed Church."

"The Professors of all the Seminaries shall be appointed by the Government."

"The Reformed Churches shall have Pastors, Local Consistories, and Synods. There shall be a Consistorial church wherever there are 6,000 persons of this Communion; and five of such churches shall form a Synod."

"The Consistory of each church shall be composed of its Pastor and twelve elders, these elders being chosen by those who pay the highest tax in the congregation."

"The Consistory shall maintain discipline, manage the funds and distribute charities."

"In case of vacancy in the Pastoral office, the Consistory shall elect another Pastor by a plurality of voices; and such choice shall be presented to the Government for approbation; and if approved, the Pastor shall take the usual civil oath."

"No person shall become a Pastor before he is twenty-five years of age; and he must have passed through a regular theological education in the established Seminaries."

"Professors in the Theological Seminaries shall be elected by the Synod within whose domain the Seminary is placed; such candidates having previously undergone a searching examination."

"The Synod shall be formed by the union of a Pastor and an Elder from each of the associated churches."

"The Synods shall regulate all matters relating to worship, instruction and ecclesiastical affairs; and all their decisions shall be presented to the Government for review."

"They shall never assemble without permission from the Government."

"The Synod shall elect the Pastor, but never against the wishes of the society over which he is to be ordained."

"The amount of the whole population of a place where a Protestant church is established shall determine the clergyman's salary. At Paris the salary shall be 600 dollars. Where there are 30,000 inhabitants or upwards, the salary shall be 400 dollars; where there are between 5,000 and 30,000, it shall be 300 dollars; and where there are not 5,000, it shall be 200 dollars." (These are governmental grants. The remainder of each minister's salary is raised by tax from his people.)

"In the Communes each different Christian sect shall have its own cemetery; but, if there should be but one cemetery for several sects, then each sect shall separate its own by a wall."

"The Communes shall provide the clergyman with lodgings and a garden; and shall build, repair and maintain the chapels.

"Each church must maintain its own poor."

"When a minister dies, the people to whom he has devoted his life shall make provision for his widow and children; and if they have not the means, then the Province shall supply them."

These legal statutes describe the prominent features of the Protestant organization; though recent laws have somewhat modified a few provisions. They have instituted "Conferences," composed of Protestant clergymen united for discussion. Each Consistorial church makes a separate body and has only a nominal connexion with other similar churches of the realm. In this they resemble Congregationalists, though in other respects they more resemble the Presbyterians. The French Protestants are too democratic to tolerate an Episcopate. The two leading forms among them are the *federal* and the *individual*; the federal being that of a Synod, made up of clerical and lay del-

egates from separate societies; and the individual being much like that of our Congregationalists. Nearly all adopt the federal form, because they think it the most fraternal and effective: fraternal, in uniting the strength of many friendly hands; and effective, in securing a general superintendence without inquisitorial inspection. They adopt it, moreover, because they can better defend themselves against the Roman Catholic forces, and because they have extended relations with the civil government.

In Europe all religious immunities and ecclesiastical rights are more minutely defined than with us; and this appears among the French Protestants. Each church and Communion has its own school, elementary as well as religious; its own Bible and Tract Societies; its own Sunday school; even its own hospital, and almost its own bookstore. As no citizen in France can be married unless he has joined the church and partaken of the Lord's Supper, it becomes necessary to institute schools on purpose to prepare the young for their *first communion*. Each Pastor prepares two such classes in a year. On the appointed Sabbath the young catechumens, between the ages of fourteen and twenty, enter the church in procession, the females dressed wholly in white, having white veils over their heads instead of bonnets, the males having a white ribbon tied round the left arm. The sermon is appropriate to the occasion, and at its close they are appealed to with a power of eloquence which fills every eye with tears. They are then admitted by the clergyman to the church, having publicly assented to the creed. At the last service we attended in Paris, we saw fifty-one males and fifty-three females thus admitted. On the next Sabbath after admission they partake of the Lord's Supper; the table being placed in the centre of the church, with the Pastor at its head, the communicants approaching in companies and standing while the bread and wine are administered.

There are many more facts pertaining to the organization of the Protestant churches of France which we have no space to record; but, we cannot omit a short mention of the "Deaconesses," or Protestant Sisters of Charity. This Society was organized in 1842, and its members have for their object the instruction of Christian women, who wish to devote themselves, as members of the institution,

to solace the varied woes of humanity and particularly to take care of the sick and poor. The central house is at Paris, but its arm extends to every Protestant church in the kingdom; and the Sisters who are educated are to be for the service of all the churches. The institution is placed under the direction of a "Council of Instruction," which is composed of one clergyman, the Directress of the house, and three ladies. All visible authority rests in the Directress. No one can be admitted to instruction except between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five. A novice must remain one year and a half before being admitted to the order of Deaconess, and then can engage for only two years at a time, being free to withdraw whenever she pleases. The institution has been very successful. They have reformed many bad women whom they have taken to their asylum. The course of instruction for those who are to become Sisters is excellent. Two Professors deliver lectures to them; and a rich apothecary of Paris has not only given them gratuitous instruction in the preparation of medicines, but has established in the house an apothecary's room where the poor can receive medicine and advice from the Sisters. The basis on which this charitable institution rests is "Christ and the Gospel;" and its members have beautifully illustrated their sacred professions. As the true servants of God, with hearts full of Christian sympathy, they go about, like Howard, "taking the gauge and dimensions of misery," relieving distress, comforting sorrow, and making Christianity to be seen in all its beauty and felt in all its sanctifying power.

We purposed here to introduce a chronological history of Protestantism in France, beginning with the fame of Luther in the middle of the sixteenth century, and including the bloody day of St. Bartholomew, the edict of Nantz on the accession of Henry IV, and its revocation by Louis XIV; but we pass over this singular page in human story and come down to our day, merely adding, that the three words which embody the history of Protestantism in France during the sixteenth century are, *Calvin, Geneva, and Persecution.*

During "the reign of terror" all worship was destroyed; and in 1790 the Protestants were subjects of oppression. They could not contract marriages nor legitimate their

children; they could not buy nor sell; they could not will their estates, nor occupy any place of profit in the kingdom. Their house of worship was the open field. Bonaparte saved the churches and restored religion. To a deputation of the Protestant clergy, December 2, 1804, he said,

"I see assembled before me the Pastors of the Reformed Churches of France; and with joy I seize this occasion to express my approbation of the character and fidelity of the Protestant Communion. I wish them clearly to understand that it is my firm resolve to maintain liberty of worship. The empire of law ends where the empire of conscience begins, and neither law nor Prince can do aught against this liberty. These are my principles and those of the nation; and if any one of my family who may succeed me shall forget the oath I have taken, and under the suggestions of a false conscience shall violate it, I do now devote him to public reproof and authorize you to give him the name of Nero."

Protestantism was protected during the Empire, and Napoleon saw executed the following laws:—

"Every one shall have an equal liberty in the profession of his religion, and each shall enjoy the same protection in his worship."

"The Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion is however the religion of the State."

"The clergymen of the Romish church and those of other Christian Communions shall receive their salaries from the royal treasury."

Under the "Restoration" the above grant of freedom and protection was interpreted to mean a liberty subjected to whatever conditions the Government thought fit to impose; and these conditions became so numerous and burdensome as to render the legal boon but a pretence and a derision. The revolution of 1830 erased the statute which made Romanism the religion of the State; and put all Christian sects on a legal equality. Thus it took a sword out of the hand of the Romish priest and put in its place a Bible. This decisive step was not taken without consideration. The age demanded it. Count Molé, once at the head of the government, said in public, "the Catholic Clergy can no longer boast of superiority of instruction." The Revolution had also a good effect on the Protestant churches. Before 1830 there was centralization in the

Consistories; the people were not consulted. The Revolution has done good here, for now the case is changed; the idea of individuality has been expanded, and each Protestant begins to feel himself of some consequence. This is a step towards republicanism as well as towards Christianity. But the Protestants have not yet obtained all their rights; and we regret to say that some of their brethren in power have forgotten their former promises.

There are at present three kinds of Protestants in France; first, those who reject the Roman creed only that they may put their own philosophy in its place; secondly, those who would hold society motionless in the iron bonds of Calvinism; and thirdly, those who embrace to the full the principles of the Reformation; who believe in unlimited progress and unfettered inquiry; who believe that reason ought to give a reason; in one word, who believe in the paternal character of God, and that all mankind can be saved through Christian faith, holiness and love. This last division embraces, we think, a majority of all the Protestants in the realm. We are sure it embraces the best scholars and the most eloquent preachers; men, who are like Abraham in faith, like Paul in labors, and like John in love; men who understand their position in Europe, and who will go to the stake sooner than swerve from their allegiance to Christ and his church. They are the Unitarians of France, though they reject that name and rank themselves under "Modern Orthodoxy." Their aim is to reconstruct society on the Saviour's model, and to pour the breath of Christian life into the dark soul of unbelieving France. Their success in converting Catholics has been remarkable; and for a plain reason, — because they could present a religion every way superior to Romanism. When a Calvinist has urged a Catholic to change his creed, the Catholic has asked, 'What shall I gain by the exchange? what superiority has your doctrine of total depravity over the Pope's power of pardon; or your doctrine of unconditional election over the Pope's infallibility? So far as reason is concerned, I think the Roman dogmas have the best of it.'

The liberal Christians and the Calvinists are now carrying forward much such a controversy as existed in Boston twenty or twenty-five years ago, and we are happy to say,

with the same omens of success to the cause of enlightened Christianity. Men are seldom found on the summit of their principles, and we may expect the best friends of truth will sometimes do wrong; but thus far the advocates of "modern orthodoxy" have defined their position with singular clearness, and shown in their conduct a most exemplary benevolence. They have established a weekly newspaper, *(Le Lien,)* which goes like a gospel all over the kingdom. Their ranks have strengthened every month, and this increase has so alarmed the Calvinists that they have adopted every imaginable expedient for putting down the heresy. To give an example or two. They have tried to get control of all the Theological Seminaries, such as those at Montauban, Strasbourg, and Geneva. By most questionable means they have succeeded in getting two Professors at Montauban; but at Geneva, where they could not succeed, they have established a Calvinistic school by the side of the Unitarian. Out of the six Professors at Montauban, two are pure Calvinists, two are undecided, and two only correspond in sentiment with the great body of Protestants in the kingdom. If political France were represented in the two Chambers as French Protestantism is in the Faculty at Montauban, there would be a revolution to-morrow; because it is believed that the Calvinists are not one-tenth part of the Protestant population. But though few, they are full of zeal and have men of talent among them. Until 1830 they labored as individuals, but since that time they have become an organized sect, and wonderfully agree on their measures of exclusion. They show on all occasions that cool, calculating contempt for liberal Christians which proves it to be a part of their philosophy. They persecute free inquiry and reason in the name of the Bible, as Romanism persecutes both in the name of Unity. Wherever they become the majority, they immediately act on the command of God given to the Israelites, "Go up, for I have delivered the country into thy hands." In May, 1841, the Ministerial Conference met at Paris, and the Calvinists gathered a majority and then proposed the formation of a "Society for the General Interests of French Protestantism;" in whose constitution they inserted this proviso, that no one should become a member who did not sign his belief in all the doctrines which had been through

ages denominated orthodox. As the liberal Christians had just published their creed under the title of *modern* orthodoxy, this article of the constitution excluded them from membership. This Society was formed in secrecy, and its constitution was adopted before the liberal Christians could rally to the support of their rights. But they appealed to the whole Protestant community, and here a signal triumph awaited them; for large majorities in churches sent in their disapproval of the clandestine proceeding, in some instances leaving their pastor "alone in his glory." This movement revealed to many thinking men the latent plans of Calvinism. As the Catholic clergy in the time of the Reformation cried out that "truth and error must not be confounded," and in 1830 declared the Charter, which gave equality to Catholics and Protestants, to be "an impious and a monstrous thing;" so in the same spirit has the Pastoral Conference of 1841 at Paris made Calvinism lay down for heretics the same principle and deduce from it the same conclusions. But truth will go forward, though in fetters, over ice; and what Louis Philippe and the Charter of 1830 are in political order to Henry V. and Legitimacy, exactly that in religious order is a free and reasonable conviction of Christianity to Romanism and Calvinism.

What we have said gives a true idea of the present position of the liberal Christians. They seem to us to be called to another Marathon. As Poland is in Russia subject to the rigors of the imperial ukase on the one hand, and to the lashes of the knout on the other; so is liberal Christianity in France exposed on one side to the prescriptive tyranny of the Romish Church, and on the other to the jealous spite of Calvinism. As the Polish patriots were true to freedom's cause, so will the Christian patriots of France be faithful even unto death; and they will triumph, because in their case, unlike the Poles, there is no arm of flesh to crush them. In Paris the popularity of the liberal preachers is unbounded, and they have among them pulpit orators of surpassing power. Members of the royal family, peers of the realm, foreign ambassadors, and Professors of the University are seen following the ministrations of these men, as they go from one church to another around their circle.

M. Coquerel, now about fifty-four years old, is the

nephew of Helen Maria Williams, and one of the pastors of the Reformed Church of Paris. His theological works have high and deserved reputation. M. Coquerel is esteemed the most logical preacher among the Protestants. He has uncommon power of generalization, and this, with the felicity of phrase which always accompanies the power, makes him one of the most instructive of public teachers. In repelling attacks he is unusually formidable and his opponents find him lined all over with steel points. Argumentation is his forte, and he wields it with terrible power. His colleague, M. Martin, the author of many excellent works, reminds us continually of Buckminster; for he sets forth the heavenly spirit of Christianity with Christ's own simplicity and eloquence. It is not an uncommon thing to see half his audience in tears during his fervid appeals to their affections and hopes. There are several other preachers in Paris whose hearts are filled with Christian faith and whose lips utter it in "words that burn." M. Cuvier, nephew of the great naturalist, ranks among the first for sound sense and devoted labor. Through the realm there are scattered earnest friends of Christian liberty; and M. Poullain, at Havre, is deservedly ranked among the most faithful and eloquent. The preachers speak extemporaneously, without an exception, and the effect of their sermons is about treble what it could be if read to a French audience. They have but one service a day, and the sermon is an hour in length. It has been thought that the French sermons are not logical or philosophic. This is not true; many preachers imitate the English in these traits. But if ever a French preacher forgets his mathematics, he never forgets his poetry; he never forgets that his audience have hearts, and to warm, elevate and sanctify these he deems the highest aim of the pulpit.

We regret that our limits forbid the introduction of many more facts touching Protestantism in France; and also forbid even a brief history of it in the adjacent countries. But we cannot refrain from a remark about Italy. A distinguished Italian Prince said to us, at Rome, "I hope to live to see Boston principles in politics and religion take root in Italy." This benevolent Prince must wish, like Joshua, to have the sun stand still; not that he may sleep, but conquer. The religious condition of Italy is

truly deplorable. Europe submitted for centuries to feudalism which reduced men's bodies to slavery; it has submitted also to spiritual feudalism; but as men came to an apprehension of their rights of body, they threw off baronial tyranny; so in Italy they are beginning to come to an apprehension of their rights of conscience, and will therefore one day throw off their allegiance to the Roman Pontiff. The spiritual chain, like the feudal, has been worn without being felt; but when he who drags it comes to see the free limbs and elastic spirit of one who scorns subjection, he then learns for the first time his own wretched bondage; and as soon as he learns this, he is fired with indignation at his oppressors. The Protestant strangers who annually enter Italy reveal to the inhabitants the despotism of the Roman hierarchy, and they have thus been a cause of the recent outbreaks for emancipation in those States.

A word, too, concerning Geneva. As we stood on the spot where that Christian hero, Servetus, suffered martyrdom for the truth, we could not but regard that hill as a *Mount of Remembrance*, where the faith once delivered by Calvin has given place to "the faith once delivered to the saints." As Unitarianism and Republicanism appeal to the same high principles of our nature, we may expect they will go hand in hand as they do in Switzerland. A large proportion of the Genevans are liberal Christians, and the flourishing theological school there has Professors second to none in learning, piety and zeal. They think that doctrinal Christianity should be taught in the Sabbath schools *with great freedom*, thus securing to the young "the truth as it is in Jesus." The Swiss preachers happily unite the German and French modes of conveying instruction; laying the line and plummet of argument with singular exactitude, while they illustrate their ideas with much poetic imagery. The stranger is received among this people with fraternal urbanity, and the friends of freedom and Christianity in the United States are called by them "our brethren beyond the sea." We met with nothing more truly refreshing than the two days' talk we had with the most popular preacher of the city, as he assured us of the silent and sure spread of Unitarianism in his country, and repeated his belief that if America, England and Switzerland

are faithful to their mission, liberty and Unitarianism will ere long begird the world.

We close with a few inferences.

1. The last twenty-five years of peace in Europe have brought the world to look within; and now amid the silence of arms, the human mind turns inward to contemplate the only question which profoundly moves society. The universal mind is moving *towards* religion. May it soon move *in* it.

2. The present state of advancement is not the work of one man, or one sect, or one dynasty; but it is the world-movement of the mass. Three centuries of debates, studies, wars and prayers have given to society the distinctive features it wears this day. Neither Chateaubriand, Lamartine, nor La Mennais, alone or together, represent the age. The time of Luther is past for cloisters, as that of Henry VIII. is for thrones, and of Calvin for republics. Humanity has not said its last word. The past is telegraphing to the future; and our day is hanging out its legible signals. There are those who cannot bow to the Council of Trent, and those who will not say *amen* after the Synod of Dort. There are increasing numbers who feel that neither Bonaface, nor Gregory, nor Leo could decree Christian faith; and there are multitudes who think that neither Luther nor Calvin had any special authority to stereotype his own notions as Gospel truth.

3. Many inferences may be drawn respecting Romanism in Europe; but we mention only two. The first is this; that every new political concession which any king makes to his people is always found to be so much positive entrenchment upon the rights of the Catholic Church. The second is this. It is asked, if Romanism and Protestantism can march side by side in peace toward the aims of the nineteenth century? M. Guizot, the present head of the French Government, has written a paper on purpose to prove the affirmative; and it has had the misfortune to convince us of the truth of the negative. M. Coquerel answered with great ability; showing that the Charter did nothing but secure equality to differing sects, and did not in the least forbid Romanism from carrying out its spirit of exclusion, and its tyranny over conscience. Though M. Guizot is a devoted Protestant, he is also anxious to be a

friend of all religious parties; which position may sometimes be very agreeable to a politician, though in the present case somewhat difficult. The central principle of Romanism is the infallibility of the Church, and therefore uncompromising authority; while the central principle of modern civilization is freedom of conscience and of thought. No human logic can make two principles so diametrically opposite march together in peace. The Romish Church claims the sole right of saying what is Christian truth, and then claims the exclusive right of applying such truth. There can be no clearer definition of spiritual despotism. In fact, Romanism is Christianity fastened in the barbarism of the middle age; it is no doubt somewhat in advance of the barbarity of that period, yet still far behind the Christianity of the New Testament; and no mortal eloquence can make it a fit companion of Protestantism in these days.

4. We note but one inference touching Calvinism. It seems to us that Mahomedanism, Romanism, and Calvinism have in one respect an essential resemblance. The spirit of aggrandizement and the desire of dominion are in them all the same. They are all essentially exclusive, and under these forms are opposed to the nobler tendencies of the age.

5. The duty of liberal Christians to put on the harness was never so great as *now*. Romanism planted its faith, as well as it could, in the barbarous credulity of the middle ages; Luther and Calvin planted Protestantism, as well as they could, in the semi-barbarous philosophy of the sixteenth century; and now it falls upon us to plant Christianity on the basis of the higher philosophy of observation and experience, the basis on which rest Bacon's discoveries, and the basis on which must rest all permanent improvement and all the future forces of society.

6. Unitarianism is the form of religion which harmonizes best with the advancing civilization of this century. It is the true republicanism of Christianity, recommending to all nations liberty, justice and love. It is therefore the form of Christianity which can most successfully combat with *modern* infidelity. It is capable of meeting every objection; it vindicates the ways of God to man; it maintains a rational piety and recognizes universal brotherhood, thus embracing the two great principles on which rest a perfect philosophy and a perfect religion. These sentiments, which

unite God and the soul, are as imperishable as God and the soul. We hope we shall not excite fears when we predict, that our day is to see as important a conflict as has ever been fought in the moral fields of this world; and it is in the power of Unitarianism to bear the prize banner. What republicanism will be to the political history of the future, Unitarianism will be to the religious history of that future. Can our obligations to the truth be placed in a stronger light? Every Unitarian, in our country and in Europe, is called upon by the age to do as the distinguished laymen of Massachusetts did thirty years ago. Society is marching towards new destinies in the religion of Christ; and who, with a Protestant hand, shall dare to sign a brevet of perpetuity to all its present forms? If we would not have the next age disinherit ours in history, and if we would not in our day see the soul of humanity floating and its heart empty, we must present our faith as the regenerating spirit of God, the pioneer to a higher civilization, the champion of political and religious liberty, the pledge of a coming era of universal light and love. C. B.

Art. II.—THE MYSTICAL ELEMENT IN RELIGION.

We may trace the origin of mysticism very far back in the history of our race. The tendency to the mysterious is strongly marked in rude ages and nations. In Oriental forms of worship, in Egyptian mysteries, and in Hebrew ceremonies, we discover its existence.

The source of mysticism seems to lie in these two faculties, — the striving of the finite after the infinite, and the attempt of the understanding to account for and explain the longings of the soul.

In the popular sense, a *mystery* may be defined as that which is incomprehensible, and *mysticism* as the reverence for that which we are incapable of understanding. A mystery, then, in one age, may be a well known and understood principle in another. Accordingly, we find the grounds of the mysterious continually changing, and the manifestations of the sentiment of the mystic varying from age to age. Three marked stages in the history of mysticism can be pretty distinctly traced.

The first is the mysticism of a rude and unenlightened age. In these days of the infancy of man, the ideal and mysterious finds its sources and objects in the outward world. "The glance has not become introspective. The harvest of a quiet eye, which broods and sleeps upon its own heart, is not yet gathered." Thus Fetichism was a species of mysticism, outward objects being taken as the types of spiritual attributes. Of the same character was all the symbolic worship of early times, and that creed of *mythos* dimly shadowing forth such profound truths. In this stage, mysticism manifests itself in forms of worship and ritual observances. Thus have men attempted to bring the Divine and the infinite down to the comprehension of the human and the finite. But in time it comes to pass that the symbol is substituted for the thing symbolized, and instead of the feeling of devotion, men retain only the form of worship. When this is the case, the form or the symbol, having lost its significance as men grew wiser, passes into disuse. Then succeeds the second stage of mysticism.

As the other was called the mysticism of worship, this may be distinguished as the mysticism of creeds. When men have begun to use their reason, and by this have explained away their old mysteries, and thrown aside their old forms, grown through perversion into idolatries, the reason naturally becomes the predominant element, and we might infer that the foundation of mysticism was gone; that henceforth all religion would be simple and be brought down to the level of the understanding. But it is soon found that reasoning will not solve all problems. There is a craving for something beyond, for the religious sense in man will not be satisfied with the finite. Thus the next form of mysticism is that which bids defiance to reason and denies its authority — the mysticism of doctrine. Now, men demand paradoxes for their faith, and it becomes a merit to believe a contradiction. It is not surprising then, that the perfection of religion should be made to consist in the belief of absurdities which are called divine mysteries, and that men should even wish, as some have done, that there were a fourth person in the Trinity, so that faith in it might be the more difficult and meritorious.

But as men come to a higher view, this form of mystery in religion fades away like the other, for they perceive that

we can believe nothing without reason, and to profess faith in that which is a palpable contradiction to the reason is an absurd abuse of language. And men find, too, that religion is something higher and more spiritual than belief; they learn that a man's salvation is of the heart, and not of the head. Then comes the third stage of mysticism, which we may call the mysticism of faith. The mysteries of ritual and symbol gave place as science advanced to the mysteries of the intellect, and now, as a higher stage in spiritual life has been reached, we find the mysticism of religious experience. The ideal element has again gained a place, — the same that in early times gave spiritual significance to outward nature and symbolic worship, but now, chastened and refined, — with less of the fancy, and more of the heart. Nature is indeed symbolic of spiritual truth, but men no longer accept her types, save as they are confirmed by their own inmost experience. So do we come back, through the wilderness of doubt and the mazes of logic, to the simple faith of childhood — no longer outward and of authority, but strengthened by reason, and confirmed by experience.

We have used the word mysticism in a wider than its usual signification, but what is mysticism but the striving of the soul after God, the longing of the finite for communion with the Infinite? And this the mind has sought in outward nature, in abstract speculation and doctrine, and in the depths of inward experience and the quiet of lonely contemplation. The sentiment is the same, but the form of developement varies. But not in outward nature, still less in dogmatic mysteries, can the soul satisfy its longings after the mysterious and the absolute. The last is the only true form of mysticism; for we "*feel* after God, if haply we may find him;" and though we commune with him through outward nature and our understanding, it is only through our affections, and by virtue of spiritual alliance with him, that we can know anything of him with assurance.

The forms which we have indicated as the manifestations of the mystical in religion are ordinarily more or less commingled, but it would not be difficult to point to examples in which each of them has existed tolerably distinct and prominent. Of the first form is all early mysticism; to the second the dominant theology of the last ten centuries bears witness; and the third we observe in those who, in all

time, have separated themselves from the world, and devoted their lives to contemplative thought and pious communing. To the consideration of this, which is what is commonly understood by mysticism, the remainder of this article will be devoted.

It would be interesting to trace the history of mysticism, and its influence in different ages. From the time of the Essenes downward, we find it strangely allied with the purest and highest faith on the one hand, and the wildest vagaries and extravagances on the other. There is, perhaps, no element of religion to which Ecclesiastical history has done so little justice. The reason is obvious, in the fact that the majority of men have always lived more in the outward than the inward. Hence mysticism could never be popular. For the most part, the very name has been stigmatized with contempt or denunciation. It is rarely used, except in a bad sense, as something to be guarded against. It is considered as a perversion, an extravagance, an excess. Even Cousin defines it as "consisting in the substitution of direct illumination for indirect revelation, of ecstasy for reason, of dazzled and bewildered vision for philosophy." So Jouffroy considers it as inseparable from Necessity and Quietism. And it must be confessed, that mysticism has led to all manner of extravagance in doctrine, and abuses in morals. It has taken men from the pleasures and the duties of social life, and immured them in caves and monasteries. It has tortured them with self-inflicted penance and scourgings. It has justified them in lives of unbridled indulgence and licentious revel. The asceticism of such men as St. Anthony, St. Francis, and Loyola, the sensual antinomianism of the Beghards and the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the fanaticism of Simeon Stylites, and Peter the Hermit, are results of mysticism.

Mysticism rests mainly on these two doctrines: first, the internal and experimental character of all true religion; and secondly, the communion of the Divine spirit and the human. These two principles lie at the foundation of all religion, yet it is easy to see how naturally the first may be carried out to Antinomianism, and the second made to justify every impulse of appetite or passion. And when a man has once persuaded himself that the spirit of God dwells and speaks within him, an infallible oracle, and that

every subjective idea has of necessity an objective reality, it is not easy to see how he can escape the wildest conclusions, or by what criterion the divine voice within his soul is to be distinguished from the suggestions of his own fallible reason, or the promptings of his own passions. When one rejects all deductions from facts, and denies all weight to the experience or the convictions of others, it must inevitably follow that feeling will assume the place of judgment, and fancy have more authority than the plainest testimony of the senses. So long as mysticism is confined to the region of sentiment, it is a quickener to devotion, lends wings to faith, and spiritualizes all outward things. But when it usurps the place of reason, and allies itself with a technical and dogmatic logic, its etherial character is gone — it sinks down to a bare absurdity, or a grovelling sensualism. The creed of mysticism cannot be stated. It cannot be transmitted by words, any more than fragrance can be made visible to the eye, or sound be expressed on canvas. The outward world, if we trust it infallibly, deceives and degrades man; the speculations of reasoning are alike bounded and unsatisfactory, and he who relies on his senses or his logic for all truth will come far short of the mark; but he who trusts solely to his own feelings, makes as great a mistake as either of these, and we may sum up in the same category of one-sided and pitiable men, the materialist, the mere logician, and the visionary. When we overlook any element of our manifold being, or unduly exalt one faculty above all the rest, nature inexorably makes us pay the penalty, in a blinded vision and a dwarfed, unshapely growth.

The error of the mystic has been in making life too entirely subjective; in overlooking or despising the facts of experience, and the laws of the world without him. Dwelling always within himself, his own conceptions come to be regarded as absolute truth — his impulses become identified with Divine inspiration. Hence follow a one-sided and extravagant view of things, an inability to act with, or upon others, a life of idle musing, or lawless indulgence, the ravings of an insane imagination, or the torments of a morbid and self-persecuting conscientiousness. Life becomes a meditation, a penance, a yielding to all impulses, or a stupid blank. The man of purely introspective life is like

one who looks steadily upwards at the stars, till the eye, wearied and dim with long continued exertion, at last loses all objects in a thick darkness or a dazzling glare, or the imagination, superseding the influence of reality, pictures a new firmament, and peoples it with phantom lights and all wild, wandering fires.

But, with all these admissions, is there no good word to be spoken for mysticism? Must it not be, that what is so plainly an element of our nature is capable of healthy and beneficial use? Is there not a good sense to the word, mysticism? Can we trace no salutary results to this cause? In the early history of Christianity, we find it allying itself with a mystic philosophy — a philosophy whose very starting principle was the influx of the Infinite into the finite soul. It is inevitable, that a universal religion, as Christianity was designed to be, should take a form and impress more or less from the age and nation in which it is found; — that its stream, as it passes down through the ages, should catch the hues and qualities of the soil through which it flows. And never did there mingle with its waters a more congenial element than that of Platonism, the most spiritual of the old philosophies; and in accepting, refining, and sanctifying some of the principles of this philosophy, in the degenerate form in which it appeared in the Alexandrian school even, it received an influence more friendly, — certainly less hostile, — than it has received from any other system of human philosophy. In no period between the Apostolic age and the Reformation of Luther, do we find its theology so vigorous, and its spirituality so vital. Compare this period with the coarse sensuality, the miserable casuistry, and the petty controversies of the Schoolmen, and say which was the more salutary, the reign of dialectics or of faith. And Montanism too, with all its extravagances, (doubtless greatly exaggerated in the accounts we have of it,) was a noble assertion of the mystic element — the superiority of inward life over outward form — the spiritual and progressive character of Christianity; and, beyond question, it was a means of elevating and purifying the faith of the Church. To mysticism we owe the great and good influence of such men as John Gerson, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, as George Fox, and William Penn, and John Wesley in later days. The saints of all time have

been strongly tinged with mysticism. It is this quality which gives the richest charm and the profoundest life to the writings of such men as Kempis, Scougal, Fenelon, Henry More, and Jeremy Taylor. The writings of John and Paul are full of the mystical spirit.

The soul of man, the offspring of the Infinite, cannot rest in the finite. It demands something above its feeble powers to reverence and adore. It is not true, that "where mystery begins, religion ends." A mystery does not imply a contradiction. That which cannot be comprehended, may be apprehended. He who supposes that he can understand and explain all mysteries, has yet to learn what the essence of Christianity is. It is the poverty of Rationalism, that often drives men back even to the extravagance of mysticism; and closely on each other's heels tread the mere reasoner and the fanatic. The principle that lies at the bottom of all mysticism is the communion of the spirit of God with the soul of man — the reality of divine influences. And this doctrine is the distinguishing characteristic of Christianity. The religious principle in man demands something more than moral axioms, and statements of doctrine. There is a world of difference between the assent of the intellect, and the faith of the heart. "In a certain sense," says Martineau, "there is a profound truth in the old adage, that ignorance is the mother of devotion." That which my imperfect vision will take in at a glance, that which my poor reason can fathom and guage, *that* will not stand to me for religion. It will not move me to reverence. It will not fill my soul's longing. There must be something whose height I cannot reach, whose depth I cannot fathom, that, like the surrounding ocean, or the overarching heavens, sketches on and on to the misty veil of infinity — something to move me with a reverential awe — in whose presence I sink into insignificance, and bow my head in silent adoration. And this feeling of something about us greater than we can know, but into whose mysterious communion we may come, and within which we dwell and have our being, even as the unconscious child rests cradled in the arms of paternal love, yet sees not that they enfold and sustain him, this is mysticism — mysticism in its true sense; and without it there is, and there can be no religion.

What poetry is to the arts, what love is among the sen-

timents, that is mysticism in religion; its crowning beauty and glory; the light and the warmth of its life. In its legitimate limits mysticism cherishes the loftiest faith, sanctifies nature and providence with spiritual significance, and brings the soul near to God. From this spring the lofty communion of nature, the hallowing joy of lonely thought, and the aroma of devotion that embalms life in its mystic fragrance.

We complain of mysticism because of its extremes, and its fanaticism. But if it be an error for a man to forget that he has a body, and to try to live as a perfected spirit before he has cast off the swaddling-clothes of the flesh, is it not an error much more to be deplored, as more prevalent and more fatal, for men to live as if they were only beasts of the earth, and forgetful of their divine origin and destiny, to ignore the facts of a soul and a spiritual world? Which is the worse fanaticism, and which is the fanaticism of our day?

There was much of the mystical spirit among our Puritan ancestors, but in our rationalistic time, and among our speculative people, there is a marked decline of piety and reverence. We need an infusion of the mystical to waken again the fervency of ancient devotion, and to stir the soul with solemn and kindling influences. Our religion must not be a thing of our making, an instrument that we fabricate and use at our will. We must not be its masters, but it must be ours, to be loved and gladly followed in voluntary obedience, but still to be honored, yea, before which we stand in reverential awe; that makes the earth on which we tread, holy, and the daily life we live, solemn, and fills the air we breathe, and the still heavens above us, and manifold nature around us, with the presence and the majesty of God. There is too little of this reverence among us. We have eaten of the tree of knowledge, but not of the tree of life. We have become discerners of good and evil, and make our own laws, and walk in our own ways. We have become as gods unto ourselves, and there is nothing above us, — nothing that we do not measure, and pass judgment upon. Still we may see, in these times, the mystical element manifesting itself among us. We need not be surprised or alarmed, if here and there it come in rather a questionable shape or an extravagant garb. This

follows naturally from the failure among us to recognise the principle. Extreme, by reaction, brings extreme. Those who occupy the position of rational Christians can be in little danger from any extravagance of mysticism, but it becomes them to recognise it as a constituent element of religion, and to turn it to its legitimate end. It becomes them, because they profess to take religion in its wholeness, and to overlook none of its principles. It should be our aim to present Christianity as a perfect whole, appealing to every faculty of the human mind, and to appreciate and use all those means by which God, in his merciful providence, has opened avenues to the reception of truth.

In this element of the mysterious, too, we find a connecting link between natural and revealed religion, to separate which men have taken so much pains, but which should ever be regarded as one perfect system in the divine purposes, — a golden chain, with one end reaching to the earth, and the other, stretching beyond the ken of mortal vision, made fast to the throne of God. For it is a sad mistake, when the friends of Christianity fail to recognise any of its essential elements, or, in their mistaken zeal, seek to array it against its natural ally, the religion of nature. And to recognise the presence and action of God in the outward world, is a step already taken toward Christianity, since the God of nature and of revelation is one and the same Being. We cannot too sacredly cherish, especially in the young, this feeling of God's presence in the world, for it is often the only point of religion they are able to seize upon; nor can we too highly value the susceptibility of the youthful mind to the mystic spirit of reverence and beauty in outward nature;

> "That sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air;
> A motion and a spirit, that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

We shall do well to acknowledge and turn to account this part of the soul's religious life, as a means of making religion more spiritual, and of giving life a religious significance. Forms of worship may be merely formal, and faith

in creeds may be merely intellectual, but the sentiments of veneration and aspiration are of the heart, and cannot be made to lie. Cherishing these, we shall make religion not a thing of the church and the Sabbath, nor even our closet companion merely; but a cherished friend, to go with us in our business and our daily walks; to hallow all our labors and enjoyments, and to baptize with a spirit of beauty, and clothe with a spiritual significance, all outward nature, all social relations, and the daily providences of God.

H. W.

Art. III.—LIVES OF ENGLISH UNITARIANS.*

In the midst of all the excitements, the novelties, and the learning of the present day, it is useful to look back occasionally on the labors and characters of our fathers; and examine into the acquirements, the wisdom, and the deeds of the great and good of old time. We are prone to consider ourselves, in this age, as possessed of far greater advantages than the people of any period that has preceded us. We deem ourselves peculiarly happy that we are permitted to live at a time of such great enlightenment; and we seem to look down, as from a vantage-ground, and with some slight feeling of pity and contempt, upon those progenitors of ours who had the misfortune to live two or three centuries ago.

It is true that we of the nineteenth century have made some progress in science, and in the arts of living. We have made rapid strides in mechanical knowledge, through the influence of which we can traverse the widest oceans in a comparatively short time, pass over the most rugged and diversified countries at a rapid rate, and produce the most elegant and the most various tissues at the smallest cost. We have made perhaps some advances in the art of government. We have done an invaluable service to mankind in the diffusion of general education. We have done something to mitigate the woes of humanity. We have broken down in some measure those lines of demarcation

* *Lives of Eminent Unitarians.* By the Rev. W. Turner Jun. M. A. London: published by the Unitarian Association. 1840–1843. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 417, 452.

which have heretofore made "enemies of nations, whose kindred drops should mingle into one." We have visited the extremest poles of the earth, and penetrated into the inmost recesses of Africa and America. We have projected also many schemes of improvement for the benefit of the race, which have not yet been sufficiently proved by the experience of time. All this have we done, and much more; and these things bear witness to the general advancement of the human family towards that state of perfection at which we all hope to arrive. Still the advances that we of this generation have made have been more *material*, than *spiritual*. We have made greater progress in the control over matter and the elements, than in the culture of the mind and heart; and it is scarcely becoming in us to look at our own station with too much complacency, or upon the times of our ancestors with too much derision.

We may perhaps lay claim to a more general extension of mental vigor in these days of almost universal education; but we can hardly affirm that we surpass, or even approach the mental standard of a Shakspeare, a Milton, a Bacon, a Newton or a Locke. Neither poetry nor sound philosophy has made much onward movement since the times of these splendid examples of the "mens divinus," and their works are as much read and appreciated now, even with all our boasted advantages of science and prolonged experience, as they were when first published. We might even say that the writings of these gifted men exert a more decided influence upon us at the present day, than they exerted upon their contemporaries, because we see them now in their undimmed blaze of glory, unaccompanied by detraction or the rancor of a rival or a foe. Truly there were giants in those days!

If we look into the history of the Church, we shall find equal reason for a respectful estimation of the writings and labors of the divines who have gone before us. It may be doubted whether we have improved upon them, either in practical religion or scholastic theology; and we may refer with justice to the writings of Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, Sherlock, South, Tillotson, Law, Paley, Watson, Lardner, Priestley, Edwards, and a host of others, in confirmation of the profound learning and eminent virtue of the doctors of the Christian Church during the two last centuries.

We have no desire to underrate the wide-spread intelligence that exists around us, or to cast a shade upon the well-merited laurels of the great men who are a present honor to their day and generation; but we are anxious that the people of these times should avoid the example of Pygmalion, and that they should not become too much enamoured of the works of their own hands. Our works, and theories, and writings will descend to posterity with all the credit they deserve, and will bear evidence that we have not retarded, but have given an impetus to the great law of improvement which has been constantly going onwards from the earliest ages of our race. We ought therefore to be satisfied, nay, well pleased with our own action in the great drama of life; but we ought still to remember with gratitude that those who have departed have done good service in the same theatre, and deserve neither our neglect nor our supercilious regard.

It is not always with satisfaction that we look into the new theories of morals and religion, that are occasionally popular in this age of inquiry. So far as these new views are only objects of curious research or speculation, we have nothing to say against them; they serve to sharpen the intellect, and excite and strengthen the mind. But when they beget a morbid desire after novelty, and incline us to doubt and dislike those records which have been the hope and the strength of mankind since they were first disseminated by the Providence of God, we would exert every faculty of our souls to caution the unwary against too much free-thinking; and implore every Christian to hold fast to his religion, as his best support in life, and the only sure ground of his hope of future happiness.

The Unitarians, as a body, are perhaps more inclined, and probably better qualified, to enter into the regions of speculative theology than any other sect of Christians. Having no creeds or formularies of faith to bind them down to any set of opinions, they feel themselves free to think and to speak upon any new theories of religion that may occupy the public mind, or may be introduced to their notice from the solitary study of the theologian or the philosopher. This very freedom however may be used to their own injury; and they may have as much need of help and direction to their faith, from time to time, as those who

are bound to believe the most irrational dogmas. They do not require indeed any prescribed creeds or Confessions of faith, to make them attached to their principles. So long as they recognize the Bible as the source of all their faith, — their trust, their guide, and their everlasting hope, they will feel no necessity for additional assistance of man's device. But the mind of the Unitarian is moulded and governed by the same influences which mould and govern the minds of other men. If he fails to study the Bible, or the history of his Church, and permits his mind to go on in listless inactivity, or to follow the strange vagaries of a dreamy philosophy, he will undoubtedly stand in need of renewed counsel and advice; and should be roused from his lethargy, or his ideality, by every rational or suasive means. Unitarians may be as much determined by fortuitous circumstances, such as the example of their parents or friends, education, and other influences, as are Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Methodists or Catholics. They *are* so influenced, almost without their own perception or consent. We speak of the great body of them; and if the truth is to be spoken, we might say that a large number of professing Unitarians of the present day would be hardly able to give a reason for the faith that is in them. We have known many who have found it difficult to give a consistent explanation of the Unitarian view of the doctrine of the Atonement, or even of the Trinity; and although the same may be said of large bodies of the Calvinists and of other sects, yet it seems more inexcusable in the Unitarian than in others, because he is supposed to be better read and more fully acquainted with the Scripture evidence on which his faith is founded. His very dissent from the great body of Christians implies that he has deeply considered the whole subject of his faith, and that he has arrived at his convictions of the unreasonableness of the Orthodox scheme of salvation after much elucidation and research.

It is incumbent consequently upon the enlightened Unitarian to be well-informed not only upon the peculiar tenets of his Church, but upon its present condition and past history. As a means of refreshing his memory in regard to the founders of his sect in England, we would now especially draw attention to the interesting and instructive volumes the title of which we have placed at the

head of this article. They contain a succinct biography of those celebrated men who were the first to declare their dissent from the orthodoxy of the English Church, when dissent was not only obnoxious, but dangerous to the liberty and life of the individual who dared to be independent in his religious opinions. We have risen from their perusal with a great degree of reverence for the learned and good men whose lives they record, and with gratitude to Mr. Turner for the able and impartial manner in which he has compiled these histories.

Surrounded as we are, at this day and in this country, by all the blessings of civil and religious liberty, where every one may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without any fear of offence either from the civil tribunals or any ecclesiastical body; we can scarcely comprehend the difficulties and the dangers which attended an open profession of dissent during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and even the eighteenth centuries, in England. These biographies give us ample information of the persecutions which the fathers of Unitarianism in that land endured, while they were upholding with all the fervor and consistency of truth the great doctrine of the simple unity of God. With the certainty before their eyes that the first avowal of their heterodoxy would expose them to the loss of their situations in the Church, to the slight and contumely of many of their friends, to the bitter pains of want and poverty, and probably to imprisonment along with the outcast and the felon; they nevertheless listened to their deep convictions of the truth, and hesitated not to proclaim to the world the gross errors of the prevailing faith, and to affirm that there was only one object of supreme reverence and worship, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The intolerance and bigotry of the *Protestants* of England, even within a few years succeeding the Reformation, were exemplified in their frequent persecutions of the Dissenters; and we find that many Arians and Unitarians received the honors of martyrdom in the latter part of the sixteenth and the commencement of the seventeenth centuries. And although those horrible times soon passed away, yet the Unitarian divine still continued to be fettered with many civil and religious disabilities, and his public ministry was attended with privations, trials and obloquy of various

kinds. Many of the excellent men of whom we read in these volumes were thrown into loathsome prisons in consequence of the fearless preaching and publishing of their religious views; some were transported beyond seas to a penal colony, where one excellent minister of the Gospel perished under very distressing circumstances; and others were obliged to flee from the fury of an enraged mob, excited to their fury by the hirelings of an intolerant and persecuting Church. But amidst all the trials, degradations and oppressions which these English Unitarians were called upon to endure, it is highly honorable to them as a body, that however much they were reviled "they reviled not again," but defended their principles and their rights with a zeal and firmness which were tempered with love.

The first memoir in these volumes is that of John Biddle, who was born in 1615, and admitted to Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1632, where he soon gave evidence of great freedom from prejudice, and a disposition to search diligently into the Scriptures for that rule of faith which was hereafter to be his guide in life, and his hope beyond the grave. He may well be called the father of English Unitarianism, for it appears that he "was the first Englishman, who came forward openly to vindicate Unitarian principles either from the press or from the pulpit." Shortly after he left the University he was summoned before the magistrates of Gloucester on a charge of heresy, from which examination he escaped without any penalty. In 1645 having published his "Twelve Arguments drawn out of Scripture wherein the commonly received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted," this paper "fell into the hands of the Parliamentary Committee, by whom the author was committed to the common gaol, till the Parliament, which was then inflamed with *Genevan* zeal against such heretics, should take cognizance of the matter." He was subsequently examined before the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster, which Assembly having declared that "any one who should controvert the Deity of the Son, or of the Holy Spirit, or the equality of Christ with the Father etc. should be declared a *felon*," he was for some time in expectation of receiving a felon's death; but was liberated from a long confinement by the Parliamentary Act of Oblivion passed in 1651.

After a few years of freedom, which he spent in study that carried him still further away from the Calvinism of the time, he was again imprisoned for denying in a public disputation with a Mr. Griffin, a Baptist clergyman, "that Christ was God, Most High," and was only saved from an ignominious death through the influence of Cromwell, who changed his punishment to that of banishment to the Scilly Islands, where he was sent in 1655. He remained in exile three long years, and was again restored to his friends about five months before the death of the Protector. But this was not to be his last trial for conscience' sake, for in June, 1662, he was again committed to prison, and while he was thus incarcerated, "he contracted a disease which put an end to his life on the 22d of September, 1662, in the 47th year of his life." Thus ended the earthly career of this great apostle of the Unitarians, and we cannot close this brief sketch of his life in a more fitting manner than by quoting the words of his biographer.

"Through much tribulation it was allotted to him, in a dark and troubled age, to perform his appointed work; but he did perform it with an undaunted spirit, swayed neither by the praise nor the fear of man; inspired only by a regard for the honor of God, and what he conceived to be the truth as it is in Jesus, with an earnest endeavor so to impress it on the understandings of men that it might exercise a practical influence over their hearts and lives."

In the biography which follows, of Thomas Emlyn, who was born in Lincolnshire in 1663, we cannot but note the strength and intrepidity which the truth imparts even to those who are of a meek and retiring disposition. Possessed as he was of almost every comfort which this world could afford him, he hesitated not to bear his testimony against the anti-Scriptural doctrines of the day. It is worthy of remark, that his first doubts about the prevailing theology should have been suggested after reading Dr. Sherlock's book on the Trinity, which, he tells us, "discerned to him how far many were gone back towards polytheism."

"I long tried," says he, "what I could do with some Sabellian turns, making out a Trinity of *somewhats* in one single mind. I found out that by the tri-theistical scheme of Dr. Sherlock and Mr. Howe I best preserved a Trinity, but I lost the Unity; by

the Sabellian scheme of modes and subsistencies, properties, etc. I best kept up the Divine Unity, but then I had lost a Trinity such as the Scripture discovers, so that I could never keep both in view at once. Till I had upon much thought and study of the Holy Scriptures, with many concerned addresses to the Father of Lights, found great reason to doubt, and after by degrees to alter my judgment, in relation to the formerly received opinions of the Trinity and the supreme Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ."

We cannot here follow him in his chequered career, although his life well deserves an attentive study and his writings may be still read with profit and interest. They are contained in three volumes, the two former consisting of controversial writings and tracts, the last, of sermons. His "Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ," was republished at Boston in 1756, and Mr. Sparks also inserted it, with some notice of the life of the author, in the fourth volume of his Theological Tracts, 1824. It still constitutes a good tract on Unitarianism; and in truth, few better on the same subject have been written since. Emlyn was condemned for heresy in Dublin, by the Chief Justice of Ireland, and confined for some time in the common gaol; having first, however, to suffer the degradation of being led round the Four Courts with a paper on his breast, instead of being exposed in the pillory, as he was a man of letters. He died in London in the year 1743.

"The name of Thomas Emlyn," says his biographer, "well deserves to be had in affectionate remembrance and veneration by those, whatever their religious sentiments may be, who duly value simplicity and godly sincerity, and the genuine graces of the Christian character made manifest not only in suffering for conscience' sake, but in unaffected piety and purity of life. He is chiefly known to posterity as a venerable confessor who rejoiced that he was thought worthy to suffer shame and loss, and imprisonment for the sake of the Gospel truth. But he was no less remarkable for a meek devotion, and for the practical influence of Christian principles, which were equally his guides in prosperity, while all men spoke well of him, and his consolation and effectual support in the period of adversity and persecution. Others have gone through more severe bodily suffering, but none have displayed in their conduct and their sentiments more of the spirit of him who 'went about doing good.'"

Of the life of James Peirce, our prescribed limits will not permit us to give an adequate sketch. He was born in

London in 1673, and received the principal part of his theological education in the Universities of Utrecht and Leyden. He soon settled in Cambridge as a Dissenting minister, where he published many tracts and theses on various controverted points of faith, which attracted much attention; and was in consequence invited in 1713 to become minister to one of the Dissenting congregations at Exeter, not only with great unanimity, "but with urgency and earnestness." But not many years had passed before the majority of the assembled congregations in that place found that their minister, Mr. Peirce, had become too Scriptural in his opinions; and when those who were delegated called upon him to obtain his assent to the doctrine of the Trinity, he promptly refused, telling them "that he could not satisfy his conscience to lay down his ministry himself, but if they would venture to lay him aside, and that would make them easy, he would give them no further trouble."

He, and his colleague Mr. Hallett, were soon after ejected from the church; but through the instrumentality of their adherents they not long afterwards "erected a place of worship for themselves, in which for nearly a century, a succession of eminent men officiated to a respectable congregation. It is remarkable," says Mr. Turner, "as being the first in this country (England) avowedly erected for the worship of the One God, the Father." This ardent promoter of religious liberty died in Exeter in 1726; and when his friends wished to erect a monument with a suitable Latin inscription over his remains, the clergyman of the parish, to his shame, refused his consent, and would not permit the word "Reverend" or "Pious" to be engraven on the stone. All therefore that was finally placed upon it was —

"Mr. James Peirce's Tomb, 1726."

As a theologian, he is chiefly known, at the present day, by his Paraphrase and Notes on some of the Epistles of Paul, "after the manner of Mr. Locke," a work of great merit for the time at which it was written, and still valuable to the Scriptural reader.

As our object is simply to call the attention of the Unitarians of this country to the study of the early history of their Church, in the lives of its eminent and pious profes-

sors, we would not forestall the interest of the reader even by a brief recapitulation of these interesting biographies. To us they have afforded a treat of no ordinary kind, for although they are the records of men of letters and divines, whose existence generally admits of little that is wonderful or exciting, yet they reveal to us such a vivid view of mental change and progress, such a beautiful exhibition of the immolation of selfishness, such indomitable courage in the hour of trial, such touching serenity of life in the midst of all its cares, and such pious resignation in prison and in banishment, that we have risen from the perusal of them with no less gratification of mind than from the study of the highest efforts of imagination. They will be found in many instances peculiarly touching in the interest they excite, while they carry with them the fullest evidence of their truth and correctness. They show us the realities of life; — living men, who have actually thought, endured, acted, and suffered in the way that is here depicted, — such men as are worthy to be called disciples of the "Man of sorrows, who was acquainted with grief."

These volumes comprise notices of thirty-three eminent Unitarians, from the times of John Biddle to those of Joseph Priestley inclusive; all of whom are deservedly objects of regard and veneration to our English brethren. Amongst such a number it is to be expected that some will rise into a bolder relief than the rest, either from their pre-eminent virtues as Christian divines, their great talents in the field of Biblical controversy, or their profound knowledge in Biblical literature. Amongst the most prominent of these is the name of Nathaniel Lardner, who was born in Kent, in the year 1684. This distinguished man was permitted to pass through a long life of mental toil, which was devoted to the highest good of his fellow-creatures, without experiencing many of the trials or vicissitudes which often attend it. It would seem as if Providence granted him exemption from the turmoils of the world, that he might have abundance of opportunity to devote himself to the study of those records, which he eventually defended and elucidated with such wonderful power and cogency. His "Credibility of the Gospel History" will remain as an enduring memento of his well-earned fame, and be esteemed one of the greatest blessings that any man has bequeathed

to his race. He is principally remembered by this great work, and by his "Letter on the Logos;" but he wrote and published many other works on revelation, which are hardly less remarkable for the ability and learning he brought to bear on the whole subject of the Scriptures. His mode of establishing his argument was so liberal to those who differed from him, and yet so clear in its principles, that by common consent he was denominated "the candid Lardner." As his great work of "The Credibility" advanced towards completion, it was successively translated into the Latin, German, and Dutch Languages; and nearly all the distinguished foreign scholars who visited England, sought to pay their respects to this great theologian and good man, who had thus made for himself an European reputation.

We should have great pleasure in speaking more at length of the lives and writings of George Benson, of John Taylor of Norwich, of Dr. John Aikin, and many others; but we are restrained by a proper regard to the limits of this article.

We cannot, however, pass over the name of Theophilus Lindsey without an involuntary homage. He stands before us invested with so much goodness, piety, benevolence, purity, and Christian grace, such unbending integrity, united with meekness and simplicity, — he appears so worthy a disciple of the holy Jesus, — that we should do wrong to our own feelings if we permitted his time-honored name to be lost sight of without some special notice. He was one of those who thought not of silver or gold, or Church influence, in comparison with the dictates of conscience and the light of truth. With every worldly advantage around him, with great prospects of Church preferment, favored by the nobility, and revered by his parishioners, he yet thought it his duty to give up all these advantages rather than compromise his own independence and his clear convictions of right.

In the midst of all these struggles he was nobly sustained and encouraged by the partner of his heart. "My greatest comfort and support," he says, "under God, is my wife, who is a Christian indeed, and worthy of a better fate in worldly things than we have a prospect of, for we leave a station of ease and abundance; but thanks be to God, we

have not given way to indulgence, and can be content with little." This warm-hearted testimony to the merits of an English matron is not the only testimony of the kind we meet with in these volumes, as the same kind of devotion is recorded of other wives who were a joy and a strength to their husbands in the day of their tribulation and loneliness; and such domestic traits as these contribute to give great interest to the biographies of these enduring and excellent men.

Mr. and Mrs. Lindsey departed from their home in the latter part of 1773, without knowing whither to go. They went to London early the next year, and took humble lodgings in Holborn, where they remained for some time unnoticed. In a few months, through the influence of Dr. Priestley, Dr. Price, and other friends, a room was engaged for him in Essex House, Essex Street, and public worship commenced in it in April, 1774. Here he continued to fulfil his ministerial duties for a considerable time, and within the same walls a church was subsequently provided for him, in which he officiated acceptably and faithfully for about twenty years. He had the high satisfaction of building up for himself a literary and theological reputation during this connexion, and of establishing that character for benevolence and piety, which all men, of every denomination, were compelled to acknowledge and to honor. His "Apology" and other writings have done much for the cause of Unitarianism; but in his "Vindiciæ Priestleyanæ" the goodness of his heart is seen, as well as the acuteness of his intellect. The friendship of these good and pious men is honorable to both; and we hardly know anything more touching than their separation, when Dr. Priestley left England for these Western shores, or more instructive and admirable than the correspondence which subsequently ensued between them. Mr. Lindsey died in the year 1808, aged 85, and ended his long and useful life in the midst of a numerous body of loving and admiring friends whom he had gathered round him.

"If," says his biographer, "a Unitarian were to be called upon to vindicate by example the claim of his faith to the character of vital and practical Christianity, among the first to which he would point with confidence would certainly be that of Lindsey; though it may be hoped that he would not be contented to

use it thus, as an instrument to silence the gainsayer, but be at all times solicitous to place the bright pattern before him as a memento, and seek to be a follower of him, inasmuch as he was a follower of Christ."

We have not been able to speak of Gilbert Wakefield, of Turner, Jebb, Price, Priestley, and others; but we earnestly recommend the example of these men to the imitation of the Christian student, and the whole of these biographical notices to the serious contemplation of every Unitarian. We have been struck, in perusing them, with the cautious manner in which those whom they describe approached the weak points of the creed in which they had been educated, — the dislike which they manifested to doubt or question the faith of their fathers, — the timidity, approaching almost to fearfulness, with which they gradually exposed the inconsistencies and intolerance of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Confession of Faith; but we have been deeply impressed at the same time with the honesty and fearlessness of their avowal of the truth, when it had once made its clear revelations to their minds; with the constancy and fervor with which they afterwards held it, through good report and evil report; and with the knowledge and learning, such as could not be gainsayed, as well as the zeal, with which they defended it. Most of these Christian confessors had been brought up within the pale of the dominant Church, and were of course well instructed in classical and theological learning; but as soon as they were led to have doubts about the correctness of their faith, they resolved at once to study the Scriptures with more diligence, and to read them in the original tongues. Many of them, consequently, besides their knowledge of the Latin and Greek, made themselves acquainted with the Hebrew, the Coptic, the Arabic, the Ethiopic and other Oriental languages; and brought to bear upon the subject the whole force of their powerful understandings. It is they who possess but shallow learning, that are generally illiberal, narrow-minded and dogmatical; while men of deep erudition are almost always remarkable for their docility, their expansive benevolence, and a universal freedom of thought and speech.

It may be asserted of the Unitarian theologians, as a body, that while few of the Orthodox divines could excel

or even equal them in mental attainments, or correctness of life, they have done as much to establish the soundness of our common faith, to clear away the imperfections of the received translation of the Scriptures, and to vindicate the truth of Revelation from the scoffs and sneers of the skeptical and profane, as the members of any other sect of Christians that can be named; and this they have done in the midst of proscriptions, difficulties, and disabilities, which would have appalled less courageous spirits. It is a great triumph to our religion, that it has issued from the ordeal of research and criticism, and unbelief, with unspotted brightness and lustre; and it is honor unspeakable to those who have contributed the vigor of their minds and the ardor of their affections towards the firm establishment of Gospel truth — the truth as it is in Jesus! Truly they will have their reward.

In looking over these sketches we can perceive nothing like coldness or indifference; but on the contrary, abundant instances of the warmest Christian zeal, frequent manifestations of intrepidity in the proclamation of the truth, with the boldest claims for freedom of inquiry, and toleration of religious opinions. Yet we are frequently told, that the English Unitarians of the present day are nearly void of spirituality and energy, and are fast declining into prosaic rationalists. We cannot assent to the justice of this representation; and although we allow that they have not much extended the boundaries of their Church, in comparison with the rapid spread of similar opinions in this country, we believe that they have many evidences of vitality among them. They have yet civil and ecclesiastical impediments to contend with, which do not interfere with us; but we trust that the dissemination of such books as we have now been considering will do much to awaken in them, and in us, a just pride in the integrity, the liberality, the learning, and the zeal of these ancient apostles of the Unitarian Church; and an earnest desire to extend into still broader dimensions the good influences of that religion, which they so devotedly labored to establish. S.

Art. IV. — THE TRANSCENDENTAL DOCTRINE OF SELF-RELIANCE.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to say, that in adopting the current sense of the word 'transcendental,' we have no intention of defending its critical propriety. We use it as a convenient, though not exact, designation of certain peculiar opinions in theology and morals; and are not to be understood by this as justifying whatever of reproach or contempt may, in many minds, be associated with this term. Undoubtedly some of those who have been classed together as transcendentalists, have apparently little in common; but they agree in that feature which would be most likely to subject them to popular notice and censure — a departure, more or less wide, from some commonly received and deeply cherished opinions in morality or religion. The theological bearings of these new views having been perhaps sufficiently discussed, we propose now to devote a few remarks to the ethical side of the subject, which seems not to have attracted so much attention as it deserves.

Whether or not there is a system of ethics peculiar to the transcendentalists, certain it is that the prominence which they have given to some great ethical ideas, though by no means original with them, has won the deserved admiration of many pure-minded, conscientious and aspiring persons, who could not acquiesce in the low standard of morals set up in a community called Christian. There is a hopefulness of reform breathed in their essays, which might well enlist the sympathies of the more ardent and generous. There is a radical and searching inquiry into all received customs and modes of life, worthy the attention of those who mourned over existing corruptions, and were indignant at the sluggish conservatism which would have nothing disturbed. Do we confess ourselves, then, converts to these ethics? We confess nothing but a desire to do full justice to the actual good which these writers have accomplished. As critics, not as partisans, we intend to review a portion of their labors in this field; not so much to settle nicely what is really original with these reformers, but rather to examine the soundness and value of the principle to which

they have given chief prominence. It will hardly be necessary to quote much from their writings in proof of the correctness of our description. Its main features, we think, will be recognized without difficulty, by all who have been attentive students of the newer philosophy.

What is the foundation of all ethics? The existence of a *moral sentiment*, or something akin to it, in human nature. We need not stop to prove this position. It seems to us nearly self-evident, that without moral perception of some sort we could know nothing of moral distinctions. This perception or sentiment, again, is something original and instinctive, for education, we know, can create no new faculty in the soul, though it may give indefinite range and scope for the expansion of all the faculties. Whoever, then, does any thing to weaken men's confidence in this original fact of their nature, whoever questions or denies the truth of an inherent moral sense — though it may not bear this name — does so far impair the foundation of all morals. The theological dogma of man's natural inability to obey the will of God, and the degrading skepticism which distrusts the sincerity of all virtue, are both to be regarded as enemies of moral and religious growth. Hence the starting point and the prominent distinction of transcendental ethics, — the doctrine of Self-Reliance. "In self-trust," says one, "all the virtues are comprehended." 'Look to no foreign aid, look within yourself for strength to do every duty, as well as for the means of the most complete happiness. All vice originates in the despair of self-sufficiency. Distrust of self benumbs all the faculties; while hope, which is the offspring of self-trust, animates and makes us equal to the noblest enterprises.' But there seems to be some ambiguity of language here, which must be cleared up, before any precision can be attained. What *is* this "self" which is to be trusted? We have been accustomed to read from a holy book, of self-denial, self-renunciation. Is the transcendental view, then, anti-Christian? Is it the same self which is to be trusted and to be denied? If not, why use language with so much looseness?

We are not of those who resolve all theological or ethical disputes into a mere war of words. The tenacity with which men have clung to certain formulas, the vehemence

with which they have insisted on peculiar expressions, has arisen, we think, from a strong conviction that precisely in this "letter" was embodied the essential "spirit" of their doctrine. They felt that they were not engaged in the idle work of re-clothing old ideas in forms that should be attractive by their novelty, but were trying to exhibit the everlasting truth in its own fit and peculiar dress. We confess ourselves impatient of that incredulous class, who can dismiss every earnest statement of opinion which wears an unusual aspect, with the flippant remark, that it is only another way of saying what has been said a thousand times before. For even if it were merely this, yet we have an interest in knowing all the phases of truth, and should welcome any original — that is, unborrowed — utterance of it, as an approximation to absolute reality.

How much antagonism, then, is there between the older and the later formula — between self-denial and self-reliance? This is the question for us now.

The precise meaning of the first may be easily known without resorting to any ingenious division of that complex being which we call self. "If any man will come after me," said Jesus, "let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me." The contrast plainly set forth here is between self and Christ. 'Deny thyself, to follow me.' Unreserved obedience is clearly the sentiment of this passage. There must be no engrossing attachment even to friends or life. "He who has put his hand to the plough must not look back." This seems to us in brief the substance of our Saviour's frequent exhortations on this subject. There is no reference to any inherent corruption or depravity, no disparagement of human nature, but an injunction to the individual soul to oppose no hindrance in itself to the sway of the highest morality. Paul indeed seems to speak in a more ascetic tone.* "Mortify your members which are upon the earth." "They that are Christ's have crucified the flesh," etc. But even this is not inconsistent with the doctrine of self-reliance, as we believe it stands in the transcendental ethics. According to this system (if we have not misunderstood it) self-reliance is based on the assump-

* Yet in this same Letter (to the Colossians,) he openly reproves those who are subject to ordinances, as "Touch not, taste not," etc. and who would take merit to themselves for "neglecting the body."

tion, that God has created every man his own judge of right, his own guide to truth, equal to every emergency, and vainly seeking abroad what he is too indolent or too faint-hearted to look for at home. "Say not in thy heart, who shall ascend for us into heaven, or who shall descend for us into the deep? The word is nigh thee." 'Have courage to rely on your own energies, and patience to wait the issue. Resolutely cut off all escape from the necessity of original thought, original judgment, original action. Then you will first learn to be a man.' That this is inspiriting doctrine, there can be no question. It accords, also, with many facts of common experience; for who has not been made acquainted, in some degree, with the strength which comes of self-committal? The feeblest animal at bay may become formidable. The spur of a sudden and great occasion will drive many to acts of heroism, who had before been common-place and timid. These things hint at undeveloped powers in the humblest soul, and suggest the question, whether *all* man's weakness and folly may not be owing to mistrust of himself. Let not the Christian recoil at this suggestion. It is grossly misunderstood as savoring of impiety or arrogance. Surely it is no more arrogant or impious, to believe that God has provided the means of spiritual health within ourselves, than to believe it shall descend upon us from some overhanging cloud. We are no disciples of naturalism; but we repel the presumption that piety can belong only to a system of supernaturalism. It is quite too often taken for granted, that those systems of religion which represent human nature as utterly feeble and helpless, tend to promote reverence and humility. A true reverence for man, a respect for his capacities and hopes of excellence, must lead to reverence for God; for it is only in the god-like part of man that we find any thing to revere. "Certainly," says Lord Bacon, "man is of kin to the beasts by his body, and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature." Many beautiful instances are on record, of the power of faith in man to reclaim the most abandoned and desperate criminals.* Ah! how much is suggested by these words,

* See particularly the account of Capt. Pillsbury's success in the Weathersfield prison, as given in Miss Martineau's "Retrospect of Western Travel," Vol. i. pp. 125–7. See also the still more remarkable

which we have inadvertently used. "Abandoned," "desperate," are epithets which we apply to the most deeply stained in crime. Is it a *sin*, to be desperate and abandoned, that is, to be forsaken by the love and cut off from the hopes of their kind? Perchance the sin lies at others' door. The ministry of encouragement is beginning to work wonders in our time — that ministry which approaches man as a being full of latent capacities for good, which need perhaps only a more genial atmosphere to bring them into free play. He who would take part in this ministry, must share in this faith — must believe that there is a hidden store of affections and intellectual resources, of moral and spiritual wealth in all men, which it is his privilege to disclose to the unconscious possessor.

Reflecting on these truths, and stopping here, we should be almost ready to embrace with full persuasion this doctrine of man's self-sufficiency; and to admit that the despair of virtue — on the part of the good as well as the bad — might explain all the vice of the world. But question must follow question. What explains this despair? Whence came the tradition of human helplessness? Prior to all experience, the soul must in every age believe in its own illimitable power. It conceives of no obstacles. There is but a moment's interval between the desire and its accomplishment. One achievement is as easy as another. That round bauble in the sky is as near the infant's grasp, as the tiniest play-thing which attendant hands fondly offer to its delighted eyes. Such are the first impressions of our relations to the outward world. Would they be likely to give place to any but the sternest experience? Does man willingly renounce the pleasing confidence that he is absolute lord over nature? Is there not a long and obstinate struggle before "the iron ring of necessity" is submitted to, and "brightened," as Carlyle beautifully figures it, "by a kind heavenly sun of duty." Still longer is it before we admit of any bound to our spiritual conquests. Youthful aspiration spurns the thought of any constraining power over our inner world. It sings:

> "The mind is its own place; and of itself
> Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

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description of the "Redemption Institute" at Hamburg, in the last report of the Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts.

Yet this world is still far enough from heaven. Was the *will*, then, at fault? Are earth and hell still the choice of this wayward humanity? Alas! the result is not altered, whether you name it "will" or "can." Sooner or later in life we are forced to admit the unpalatable truth, that we are not our own absolute masters, that we are not wholly self-sufficient, that we must look out of ourselves for strength. And if out of ourselves, then *above* ourselves. Then is born, or rather more fully awakened, the sentiment of religion in the heart. We appreciate the meaning of that elder poet,* when he said that

——— "unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"

Religion has been defined by a late writer† to be "a sense of want." The definition is far from complete; yet it explains the fact, that a certain period of life — when boyhood is passing into youth — is unfavorable to religious sentiments. There is at that time no sense of want. The exuberance of animal spirits, the vivacity and joyousness of that period, the consciousness of increasing physical strength, the freedom from cares, the infinite range of hopes — all pre-occupy and fill the mind, and religion is not thought of as the necessary complement of our joy. This may also account for the absence of any marked religious spirit in the ancient Greeks. They represent among the nations this same period of boyhood verging upon youth.‡ Their whole being rests on the assumption of man's self-sufficiency; and though they are not without an idea of the Divine, yet the popular mythology gives us no instance of superhuman virtue among the gods, scarcely of superhuman power. The true type of their religion is found in Prometheus — a man, contending with and defying the utmost infliction of divine vengeance; compelled to yield in physical strength, but carrying in himself a proud independence of the torturer, buoyed up by the satisfaction of suffering in behalf of his race. One cannot refrain from spontaneous admiration in reading this story, though we see

* Daniel, quoted in the "Excursion," Book iv.

† "Endeavors after the Christian Life" by James Martineau.

‡ See the parallel ingeniously traced out in "Mühlenfels's Introduction to German Literature."

how defective it is as an attempt to embody the highest spiritual achievement. We delight also in many of the characters of that period of youth, of which we have been speaking. And it may be asked, then, why we do not propose to ourselves as an aim that which we admire in the youthful individual or nation. Is it a degeneracy, that with later years come painful thoughts of the inadequacy of self? Is it cowardice to seek a strength from without, which we do not find within? Or is it the stubborn fact, which experience universally records, that there is a limit to the exercise of the human faculties? True, we cannot define this limit, for if we could, we should be able to fix a precise measure of responsibility for every human being; and we are well aware that the extent of each man's duties — that is, of his responsibility — cannot be measured. A being created for progress must not too hastily set bounds for itself, which it cannot pass; yet must it not, on the other hand, weaken and exhaust its own energies by attempting present impossibilities.

Not to pursue any farther the abstract discussion, let us apply the test of a familiar example to this doctrine of self-reliance. The moral wonder of the age, the reformed drunkard, shall furnish us an instructive chapter of ethical philosophy. Hear his touching narrative of the oscillations of the human will; one while fixed with an iron grasp (you should have said) on the determination to abstain; but in a moment the hold is loosened by some feeblest temptation (so it should seem to others), and despair clutches her victim with terrific assurance. Was it any lack of confidence, then, which made the first resolution so inefficient? The farthest possible from it. He had no doubt whatever of his strength. He was troubled by no misgiving. He *thought he stood* on firm ground, and *therefore he fell.* And this self-confidence did not abandon him, though it was so misplaced. Defeated but not disheartened, he is sure that the past warnings will secure him the victory henceforth. Thus recovery and relapse alternate; till just as he is on the point of giving over the struggle, the sign of his deliverance appears. "In hoc signo vinces," it is said to him. Thousands of more desperate cases than his own have been cured by this magic stroke of the pen. He tries it, and "the pledge" saves

him. But what is the pledge? Something outward. It is a denial of the moral sufficiency of him who takes it; and the strongest opposition it has encountered, has been based on this very ground. But the important question for us is, — has this opposition been justified by experience? If the intemperate man, or any other who suffers from moral disease, is not sufficient to himself without some external aid, then it is unwise to set up our theory against the fact. And if, farther, the declaration of this fact by means of a pledge has been, beyond all question, a successful instrument of reform, our ethical system should not omit so essential an element, though it may conflict with previous conceptions of the necessity of self-confidence to give vigor to the moral sentiments. There is a passage in the Evangelical history much to the point. When Christ spoke so strongly of the difficulties in the way of the rich man's spiritual growth, the disciples, not a little saddened, ask, "Who then can be saved?" "With men," he replies, "this *is* impossible, but with God all things are possible." We seem to understand his meaning more fully as illustrated by the words elsewhere spoken: "All things are possible to him who believes." Without faith, indeed, nothing great can be achieved; but it is not always faith in *self* which is required, but in the Omnipotence which is on the side of the good. Paul certainly lacked no moral vigor when he said, "I can do all things," though he added, "through Christ who strengtheneth me."

The view which we have dwelt upon at some length and have found to be defective, is briefly this: Man should under all circumstances rely upon his own faculties, because experience shows that self-confidence developes his strength to an indefinite degree. Our reply to this has been, that experience also shows there is a limit to the power of the human faculties; and it is a pernicious folly, to say the least, to acknowledge no superior antagonist force. There is another ground of self-reliance, however, in the view which we have before referred to. 'Every man is bound to rely on himself alone in the last instance, because only in himself is there an absolute criterion of right. His own conscience must give the verdict, from which there can be no appeal.' Of the truth of this statement, thus presented, one would think, there could be no question.

To hasty observers it may sound like a truism, yet those, on the other hand, who look to its logical consequences may vehemently dispute its truth. Though it is unphilosophical to deny the premises because the conclusions are disagreeable, yet we presume that in the present case our Transcendental friends would not object to have their doctrine tried by the consequences which they have fairly deduced from it. We proceed now to consider some of these consequences, some of the applications of the principle of self-reliance.

Independence of authority is one of the most important. The transcendental system makes it not only a privilege but a duty, to decide upon any course of conduct independently of all outward authority. "Whoever," says Fichte,* "acts upon authority, necessarily acts without conscience," [gewissenlos]; because conscience is the internal conviction of the right, and it is a contradiction to affirm this of any thing foreign to ourselves. This, it should be observed, is a different question from the one so much mooted among us in recent days, concerning the proper influence of authority in matters of faith. We are now speaking not of opinions, but of conduct. Whether the human mind is capable of ascertaining all truth by the independent exercise of its own powers, may very reasonably be questioned, and will of course be denied by all who admit the necessity of the divine revelation by Christ. But this does not touch the case in hand, which is: whether there can be any lawful substitute for individual conscience. Strange indeed is it to our minds, that any want of modesty should be charged upon the transcendental principle, properly understood. The honest inquirer, endeavoring to choose between conflicting claims of duty, is referred by some prudent friend to the evident weight of authority in the one scale, as sufficient to decide his judgment. So many great names, such a vast preponderance of public sentiment, can these be set aside by one poor solitary voice! Yes, without doubt, (as regards individual action,) if it be the voice of conscience. For such an one may rightly say: 'These great names I will respect and honor, nor will I presume to think myself their match. I will gladly owe to them any thing

* *System der Sittenlehre*, p. 221.

in the shape of advice, by which my conscience may be enlightened, strengthened, and purified. But the responsibility of deciding rests with me at last. No man, however wise, can bear this for me, however foolish. I am self-condemned, if I act not by the testimony of my own conscience.' We confess this seems to us incontrovertible.* Nor is it any less true because it has been made a handle for much absurd radicalism; still less, because it has been fairly used in defence of private rights. We have seen among us some true-hearted persons, who, pushing the transcendental ethics to an extreme, would own allegiance to no human government, because it seemed to them a usurpation of the authority of conscience. So far as government *is* such a usurpation, they are unquestionably right; and we should show them to be wrong, not by referring them to an expediency, before which Right must sometimes bend, but by explaining the compatibility of conscientious adherence to the right with submission to an organized government.

It is hardly worth the while now, even had we time, to examine the numerous class of pretenders to this plea of conscience. But as no earthly court is competent to try the sincerity of these pretenders, it becomes a question for every just government, whether and in what case to enforce obedience to its laws, notwithstanding the alleged conscientious scruples. The Society of Friends are exempted from the duty of military service. It would be hard to say why this exemption should not be extended to all who claim it for the same reasons, though the claim may be a mere shelter to cowardice or indolence. One sees, indeed, that unrestrained individualism would be the destruction of the State, not less than of the Church. But by what right can the State assume authority to impose this necessary restraint? We answer: not simply on the right of self-

* We have been glad to find a coincidence of opinion with a writer in the Edinburgh Review (for Jan. 1843), in an article to which our notice was attracted since the above was written, on the "Right of Private Judgment." "It is not at the option of a conscientious man," says this writer — "no matter how he came by his conscience — to debate whether he shall act upon its convictions. He *cannot* do otherwise." — "By the decision of all the best moralists and casuists, an erroneous conscience obliges, as much as a well-informed one; and by none is this more strenuously maintained, than by the great divines of the Church of England," as Taylor, Barrow, Stillingfleet, etc.

preservation, but on the fact, that there is somewhere a common criterion of rectitude, and that with equal means of information, equal opportunities of forming an opinion, every honest conscience will take essentially the same view of duty.* "Ignorance of the laws excuses no one" for disobedience, because men are presumed to have a certain average capacity for understanding them. Men are also presumed to agree on those common notions of morality which make the foundation of all laws; and no disagreement excuses a violation of them, for government must of course treat men as men, not as anomalies of their kind. It is not merely that we inherit certain traditionary prejudices in common, but we share the same "pure reason," as the Transcendentalists call it, and the intuitions of reason must be the same in all. Beneath the infinite varieties of human character there lie certain uniform principles or instincts in favor of virtue, to which the appeal may be often made with much confidence; and the great purpose of the teacher of morals is, relying on these instincts, to present the true bearings of any given course of action; for he trusts that if a fair hearing be had, the verdict will in all cases be just. This fact is not seldom overlooked in the anxiety to do justice to another's motives. An excess of charity, so called, gives rise to remarks, which betray great unsoundness of ethical principles. Allowance, indeed, ought to be made for the difference in the point of view, from which questions may be regarded by different persons; and in any case we are authorized to do no more than give an opinion, not to pronounce sentence as an infallible judge. But whenever there seem to be no intellectual hindrances to a correct point of view, we have then a strong presumption that it is a warping of the moral nature, which induces one to defend a practice or a system that by almost universal consent is pronounced grossly iniquitous. There is no want of charity in admitting such a presumption; nor do we give any countenance by it to that hasty judgment which makes personality "the bane of conversation." Charity "thinketh no evil" where it is possible to believe

* "Even the grossest deviations," says Sir James Mackintosh, "from the general consent" of mankind in regard to the rules of conduct, "will appear, on close examination, to be not so much corruptions of moral feeling, as either ignorance of facts, or errors with respect to the consequence of action." *Progress of Ethical Philosophy. Sect.* 1.

any good; and the mischief of censorious speech consists not in the censure, but in the malice which gives venom to its sting.

In most books of ethics we do not find it explicitly stated, that the voice of conscience is uniformly the same, where the true character and tendency of an action are equally well known.* Fichte, however, says, "conscience never errs, and cannot err." Men may be misled by the false light of self-love, by the bewildering glare of passion, but never by the "light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world." It has been satisfactorily proved by testimonies from every degree of civilization, that the judgments of the moral sense are entirely unanimous in respect to the obligation of the great and essential rules of morality. Justice and benevolence are terms which have an equivalent in every language, and they express states of mind which are everywhere subjects of moral approbation. If there is disagreement in the application of these terms, the cause of it does not lie in an erroneous conscience, but either in ignorance, or defective judgment, or early prejudices, which may lead to a misunderstanding of the tendencies of certain actions. That farther disagreement which arises from putting selfishness or passion in the place of conscience, we do not here take into account; for we assume now, what could be proved without difficulty, that every one is able to distinguish between the promptings of self-interest and the commands of conscience, and that this disagreement, therefore, is not real, but only apparent.

Our Transcendental friends next read to us, out of this same chapter of self-reliance, an excellent lecture on the old-fashioned virtue of content. "There is a time in every man's education, when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance, that imitation is suicide, that he must take himself for better for worse, as his portion. — The power which resides in him is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do, nor does he know until he has tried. — Trust thyself; every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the Divine

* Lest it should be thought that this reference to the tendency of an action is inconsistent with our view of conscience as an original faculty of the soul, we refer to Mackintosh (in the work above quoted,) who has plainly shown the distinction between the "theory of moral sentiments," and an investigation into the "criterion of morality."

Providence has found for you — the society of your contemporaries, the connexion of events."* This is a sentiment of the healthiest character, and has seldom been uttered so plainly or with such encouraging tones. Few thoughts need to be more frequently enforced. There are indeed many who understand and practise upon the rule, to be content with what they *have*. But the extension of it here given, to be content with what we *are*, is scarcely admitted to be a virtue at all. Nor is it such, in the fullest meaning of these words; for they may be wrested to the support of the worst indolence and the destruction of all progress. No intelligent and honest reader, however, need be warned against such perversions. The language in question has evident reference to the original capacities of the soul, the peculiar temperament, and whatever constitutes the individuality of the man. Let each one aim to be somewhat original, because he *is* somewhat original. A natural and enforced developement of the faculties would always result in some new product, some new variety of the species; and not only would discontent be thus driven out, but a real addition would be made to the growth and improvement of the whole race. It is one indication of the disease which infects modern society, that we rarely hear of any pretension to originality of character without an involuntary expectation of something whimsical and odd. Conformity is the established rule, individuality the occasional exception. Yet who can doubt that there are depths in every man's heart, which no former experience has ever measured? And if he would himself disclose those depths by unaffected, genuine utterance of his thoughts and feelings, he could not but draw out the sympathy and admiration of his fellows, though perhaps far less richly endowed than they.†

But these are not the highest motives for content. Apart from any reference to the effect upon society, every man owes it to his Maker to accomplish the special purpose — in the language of our day, the mission — for which he was created. This he can never do by servile imitation, by

* Emerson's Essays, pp. 38, 39.

† Few modern writers have expressed this with so much beauty and earnestness, as Mrs. Child, in her admirable "Letters from New York." See especially Letters xix and xxxviii.

foolish regrets that he is not some other person, or by endeavors to copy that admired character into his own life. Nor must he adopt without question any of the customs of conventional society, merely because it is easier to conform. He has nothing to do with ease, but simply with the sincerity and integrity of his own mind. No doubt this view is liable to exaggeration; and independence may be a proud, stiff, unamiable self-isolation, a state of mind which disqualifies one for all social duties and enjoyments. Much of this extreme statement may be detected in the Essays above referred to. But we have not the heart for continual qualification. We cannot be over-anxious to pare down the force of particular sentences, though containing strong statements, believing, as we do, that they were never more needed than in this age and country. We speak now of the ethical philosophy of the Essays, not at all of their theology or metaphysics. There are many doctrines and many phrases in the book, which cannot but be painful to a disciple of Christ. This hinders not but we shall confess gratefully an admiration of its high tone of morality. "Be it how it will, do right now. *Always scorn appearances, and you always may.*" How does this morality rebuke our time-serving and consulting for effect! How it simplifies human life! We have no longer any care or labor to throw away upon the fashion of the hour. We have not the crooked rule of public sentiment to frame our conduct by. Perfect sincerity will relieve us from the task of appearing better than we are. Perfect simplicity will relieve us from the fear of appearing worse than we are. He can care little for appearance, who lives consciously in the presence of the greatest reality — God.

Our Transcendental philosophers, in applying the doctrine of contentment, discover themselves to be no great friends of "Association." They preach "the indifferency of circumstances." Every loss, say they, is balanced by some gain, save only in the soul itself. To go about to mend our condition with the hope of improving our characters under better circumstances, is all waste labor. It is reversing the true process. So far from being creatures of circumstance, we find that every thing takes the hue of our own minds. The pursuit of knowledge under difficulties

seems to have been generally the most successful; and the impediments in the course have turned out to be but stepping-stones to a greater elevation. These thoughts have a peculiar interest at a time when the subject of Association is attracting so much notice. Far be it from us to doubt, that many who are enlisted in this work sincerely aim at a regeneration of our social state, and are full of confidence in the practicability of the undertaking by means of social organization; nay, that in their view this is the last resource, almost the "forlorn hope" of the world. We share heartily their grief and indignation at the systematic wrongs of our (so called) civilized society; and this is not saying much, for how can a Christian choose but weep at the spiritual degradation of those especially who crowd our cities and larger towns? One cannot help seeing, that not only bodily comfort but much true social progress would be promoted by establishing more just relations between capital and labor, by emancipating one extreme of society from that grinding, crushing toil, which leaves them no thought or leisure for mental occupations, and by placing the other extreme under the necessity of personal exertion, of mind or of body, to secure the means of an honorable and healthful living. It is perfectly inexplicable to us, that all Christians should not sympathize with the unquestionably pure aims of these "Fourierists," that any should not entertain the desire to change the present relations of the strong to the weak, of the rich to the poor, of the enlightened to the ignorant, of the refined to the coarse and brutal. Either the intellectual or moral perception of that person must be singularly obtuse, who can look abroad upon the world around him, and mix in its company for any length of time, without much sadness of heart, and an intense longing to change the discontent and sullenness and scorn stamped upon the faces of this crowd, into the beaming looks of cheerfulness and love, of sympathy and mutual confidence. What magic enchanter's wand shall do this? Alas! it is only dreamers who can put this question. They who have to do with the waking realities of life know all too well, that such reforms can only be of the most gradual character; and, what is yet more important, that they must have their root in the heart itself, before any substantial after-growth can be reasonably looked for.

Our sketch of some prominent features in the ethics of Transcendentalism has already taken up more space than we anticipated; but we must not conclude without noticing one point of morals, in which the Transcendentalists seem to us peculiarly censurable; as it is a consequence of the application of their doctrine of self-reliance. We refer to the carelessness which they show in regard to the *publication of opinions.* It would seem to be the avowed maxim of the sect, that every one is perfectly free to publish to the world his honest convictions, at whatever time and place, and under whatever circumstances. Whether in their theory or practice, no qualification of this general statement seems to be recognized. We do not charge them with any wanton attack upon the feelings of the religious world, for, so far as we can ascertain, it is an acknowledged *principle* with them, that the truth should be spoken at all hazards — even at that greatest hazard, which might well make one pause, of its becoming changed into falsehood. We desire to do full justice to the principle and those who maintain it. Nothing can be gained by hasty insinuations of arrogance, presumption, and the like. It may be that modesty or diffidence has not been a conspicuous trait in some disciples of this school. But it is no part of our purpose to pick flaws in the character. It seems to us a question that should be raised above all personal considerations, — whether one has a right to proclaim his sentiments to the public at large without regard to the state of the public mind, and even without reference to the maturity or crudeness of his own views. We cannot hesitate to say that he has no such right. We respect and admire that openness of character, which will have no concealment for selfish ends, which needs no guarded lips to keep the secret of obnoxious opinions, but is willing to "think aloud" for the benefit of all who choose to hear. This is perfectly compatible with great reserve in the communication of such views as are likely to create disturbance in society, and to invade with profane jars the innermost sanctuary of the soul. Reserve, we say — not silence; for even in the face of these and greater evils, it may still become a duty to declare the truth. Did not Jesus say that he "came not to bring peace, but a sword?" Should that lead him to abandon his mission? It is plainly inev-

itable, that the new cannot displace the old without some shock or commotion, which will of course be more violent, in proportion as the old is deep-seated. None, then, but the most timid conservative would enchain all speech that may possibly do harm. We cannot consent to fence our words within such strait bounds. But neither do we believe that "truth is always timely;" still less, that every *impromptu* sentiment is to be forthwith sent out into the world as the undoubted oracle of reason, invested with the dignity of a calm and well considered decision of the judgment.

There are, it seems, two different points to be settled, before we can pronounce it a duty to publish our opinions to the world. First, whether our own fallibility does not oblige us to hesitate before uttering any very novel or startling doctrines; and, secondly, whether the unmixed truth itself — admitting that our doctrines contain it — ought to be instantly announced, notwithstanding it shall be opposed to the long-established usages or the most precious convictions of the great bulk of the people.

We can dismiss the first case in very few words. For no man, we presume, who is in a state to be reasoned with, can doubt his fallibility. And it is a fair presumption, in the next place, that whoever defends the propriety of an unreserved publication of opinions, does it not on the ground that they are *his* opinions, but that they are *true*. Hence we are mainly concerned with the consideration of the second case.

Since truth and not error is the natural and proper food of the human intellect, and since the actual condition of men nowhere warrants the conclusion, that they are likely to perish from a surfeit of this healthful aliment, the burden of proof undoubtedly lies on those who maintain the necessity of reserve in the communication of truth. "In a world of nescience," as Carlyle somewhere says, "why should not that little fraction of science which one may have be imparted with all speed?" Our reply is this: man is not wholly made up of intellect. In most specimens of the race may be found something which we call the heart, and this has been, on the whole, the mainspring of human conduct. Now as the intellect is fed with truth, so the heart is fed with love and the kindred sentiments.

> "We live by admiration, hope, and love,
> And even as these are well and wisely fixed,
> In dignity of being we ascend."

But even where they are less "wisely fixed" — that is, where they are associated with many and gross errors of belief — still they are primal constituents of happiness and worth. The errors are in a great degree neutralized; they are perhaps but tares among the wheat, and it would be cruel to destroy both together. Such is the case, as all know well, with erroneous opinions in religion. We can have no doubt as Christians, that the purest faith is the most genial soil for holy affections to grow in. But will these tender plants always bear the removal? Should not great care be taken in transplanting them, lest they *wither by the way?* These questions open to us a large field of inquiry, which we have not the space now to enter into. We have merely indicated the principles, which, in our view, should regulate and modify the communication of truth.

One word as to the charge of dissimulation brought against the public teachers of religion, for holding back any part of their private opinions. It has been thought, that those whose express office it is to enlighten the spiritual darkness of the people, should on no account refrain from uttering their convictions with the greatest frankness, whenever they have a reasonable assurance of their truth. We have seen, however, from what is above urged, the necessity of qualifying this statement. But this is not all. Who will say it is possible that a miscellaneous audience, such as most of our congregations consist of, could listen with any profit to a discourse upon the science of Biblical Interpretation, for example, or the more abstruse dogmas of Biblical Theology? The minister's duty in this matter seems to us briefly summed up in the following statement: he should as fast as possible raise all his hearers to the same elevation in regard to religious inquiries which he may, from the nature of his office, be presumed to occupy, and in proportion as he does this, they will be prepared and are entitled to receive whatever information he can impart in regard to any religious truth. What dissimulation is there in following this rule? We can discover none. On the contrary, we should hold him guilty of criminal careless-

ness, who despised this principle, and gave no heed to the preparation of mind with which his hearers listened to him. Truth becomes error, seen through a distorted medium. Is there not a plain obligation laid upon every teacher of religion, to present the truth in its fair proportions, that it may be "seen and admired of all men," instead of rudely thrusting out her image upon the world, decked in such habiliments as to provoke only opposition, hatred, and contempt?

We should be glad to see this subject more clearly and fully investigated than it has often been. While we have great confidence in the soundness of the principles to which we have alluded, we are aware that it may not always be easy in practice to apply them. A question of degrees perhaps cannot be answered in any general manner. But it is all important that every one who is concerned in the propagation of truth, should understand the precise obstacles to be met with — that he should make due allowance for the mixed nature of human motives and human feelings — that he should above all remember it is a perverse *will*, far more than a feeble or narrow intellect, which hinders the admission of light into his soul. We find the transcendental ethics greatly at fault here. The principle of complete self-reliance has sadly misled the disciples of this school. That which has *made* man unable to rely on himself and therefore requiring a supernatural revelation, is the fact of *sin* having entered into the world, and caused men to prefer darkness to light. Of this the Transcendentalists seem to make no account; and we cannot be surprised, therefore, that with much that is admirable in their detached ethics, their system as a whole should be so unsatisfactory. Their popularity must also decline for the same reason; for a system which cannot be reconciled with the facts of human nature, cannot possibly take any deep root in the human heart. W. S.

Art. V. — CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN THE EARLY AGES.*

The author of the publication first named below won not many laurels worth the wearing by his former volume, on the "Antiquities of the Christian Church." The matter was thrown together in a confused, indigested mass, with too little attention to chronology to render it of much use to the general reader, or indeed to any body else. The present work, though not particularly distinguished for depth, and showing no great intimacy with the writings of primitive antiquity, second-hand authorities being those mostly relied upon, we think on the whole superior to the former. It is still, however, a very ordinary production. It refutes the claims of the hierarchical party, to be sure, — that is easy enough, — but it is not a work, which, if a person were asked to point to a specimen of American scholarship, or profound historical research, he would ever think of naming. There is some parade made in the preface about the "Introductory Essay" by Dr. Neander, which consists of eleven pages, and which, had it come from any other man, would have been pronounced, we think, somewhat trite and commonplace. The most which the Professor and historian says, is, that he has "reason to expect" that certain "controverted topics" will "be the subject of an extended, thorough, and impartial examination" by the "respected author" in "his proposed work." Whether he ever saw the work does not appear. He had not, we should infer from his language, seen it at the time the Introduction was written. But the "translation" of the documents "was made at Berlin, and after a careful comparison with the original by Dr. Neander, received his unqualified approbation." Let this go for what it is worth. We will not dwell upon it.

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*1. *A Church without a Bishop. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its Government, and simple in its Worship.* By Lyman Coleman, Author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church." With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. Augustus Neander, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1844. 12mo. pp. 432.

2. *A Discourse delivered in Boston before the Pastoral Association of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, May* 23, 1844. By Edwards A. Park, Bartlet Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover. 1844. 8vo. pp. 44.

We by no means, however, intend to speak contemptuously of the whole of Mr. Coleman's performance, though parts of it are quite loose and declamatory. Some of the topics are sufficiently well managed for all practical purposes. That the primitive churches, for example, "were formed after the model of the Jewish synagogue" and were probably, several of them, at least, what Archbishop Whately calls "converted synagogues," — that their organization was very simple, — that the different congregations were independent of each other, — that their officers were elected by popular suffrage, — that Bishops and Presbyters originally constituted but one order, — that they were identical and equal, — that Diocesan Episcopacy was gradually introduced, and has no claim to an Apostolic origin, are points clearly enough made out. The materials for establishing them lie near at hand; they have been collected, and the most which any one can now do, is to re-arrange them, and throw them into the shape which the times demand. Mr. Coleman has performed this part of his task tolerably well, and with these remarks we dismiss the volume.

Professor Park's Discourse, also named at the head of this article, indicates, we think, no ordinary power, both of thought and expression. The author does not travel the beaten track, and the subject of the discourse, — the "peculiar duties incumbent on the New England clergy," would not lead one to anticipate the rich vein which is opened. Some sound reflections are introduced at the commencement on the discussion of theological and critical questions, but the part of it which has excited the most attention is that which relates to Episcopacy, though "only those claims of Episcopacy are alluded to, which," says the writer, "*in point of fact*, are found to have most influence over the common mind," — and these are "not the biblical nor the historical argument," but the "stateliness of its government and the alleged gracefulness of its forms." These are made the subject of many acute remarks presented with great force and keenness of style. The Catholic and the Protestant pulpit, and especially the New England pulpit, are brought into comparison or contrast, and several topics more or less intimately connected with them, and with the assumptions particularly of the high-church

party, are treated with much copiousness of illustration and remark. Were we to undertake to criticise the discourse, we should find some fault with the marks of exclusiveness, chiefly covert, which may be detected in it. We must say, too, that we think the author's style, vigorous, earnest, and animated as it is, occasionally censurable in point of taste. Some of his *puns*, we think, had been much better omitted. Those especially which he allows himself to make on the language of Scripture appear to us to be not only in bad taste, but, to say the least, to border on irreverence.

At the close of an article on "Christian life in the early ages," in our January number, we intimated our intention of saying something, in a future article, of early Christian worship, a subject which the direction of thought in the religious public for some time past has invested with an unusual interest. The works which we have noticed, the former of them particularly, bearing on this subject among others, have reminded us of our purpose, and without troubling our readers with any apology for this long delay, we now proceed to carry our intention into effect. We do not mean, however, to be controversial. We shall not step aside to combat any man's opinion, but shall "speak right on," and say what we mean to say on the worship of the early Christians, without stopping to inquire whose views or theory it favors or contradicts. We may, or may not, incidentally allude to some of these views or theories, but, in the main we shall leave our readers to draw their own inferences.

The ancient Christians had no false or exaggerated idea of the merit of devotion like that which prevailed in after ages, when the spirit of monkery, not yet extinct, had come in. Their religion, as we have before shown, was eminently practical. They regarded a pure and holy life as a continual offering. When reproached by the Heathen with having no temples, nor altars, nor statues, their reply was, that they thought the majesty of God could not be represented by images, nor be enclosed by edifices reared by human hands; that they truly honored him, when they dedicated their minds and consecrated their bodies as his temples; that justice, purity, and innocence

were the sacrifices in which he most delighted. Yet they believed that the Christian could not live in the world and serve God without prayer. They had a firm conviction of the efficacy of prayer. Nothing, however, could well be more simple than their worship, for it was the free outpouring of the heart to God, the uprising of the spirit to him in all the freshness of a new and living faith. It had in it little of ceremony and no pomp. Every thing showy, everything addressed to the senses, if we except the baptismal water and the symbolical elements of the Supper, was excluded.

From the first, Christians had been accustomed to meet together to warm and excite each other's hearts, and mutually to strengthen their faith and love. In this they were obedient to the natural impulses of the soul, and to the social element of the religion they professed. They did not, they could not, shut up in their own breasts the feelings of hope and joy the Gospel had inspired. They sought to share them with others, and to derive from them the invigorating influence of sympathy. They met to hear the Scriptures and some simple words of exhortation, met for prayer and spiritual communion with the Saviour; prayer, not to him — the early Christians never addressed him directly in prayer — but prayer addressed to the Father after his example, and in conformity with his express direction.

The simplicity of Christian forms of worship in early times would naturally be inferred from their origin in the synagogue worship of the Jews. Of this, and the officers of the synagogue, who were also transferred, with such slight change as circumstances required, to the Christian church, Jahn furnishes a statement, which in its main features we suppose may be taken as sufficiently correct. There were no "regular teachers," he says, in the synagogues, "who were officially qualified to pronounce discourses before the people, although there were interpreters, who rendered into the vernacular tongue, viz. the Hebræo-Aramean, the sections which had been publicly read in Hebrew." The person who read the section, or any other person of competent capacity and knowledge, addressed the people. These were called shepherds or pastors. The other persons employed were the Ruler of the synagogue,

whose duty it was to preside, and invite readers or speakers to officiate, unless some one voluntarily offered his services; the Elders, who were his counsellors and assistants; the Deacons, or collectors of alms; the Servants, "whose business it was to reach the book of the Law to the person who was to read it, and to receive it back again, and to perform other services;" and the Messenger, angel, or legate, who was "sent from synagogues abroad, to carry alms to Jerusalem, and occasionally on other missions."

Of the worship of the synagogue, which was confined wholly or chiefly to the Sabbath, the same authority gives the following description: —

"When an assembly was collected together for worship, the services began, after the customary greetings, with a doxology. A section was then read from the Mosaic Law. Then followed, after the singing of a second doxology, the reading of a portion from the Prophets. The sections, which had been read in the Hebrew, were rendered by an interpreter into the vernacular tongue, and the reader, or some other one, then addressed the people." *

What the most ancient Christian worship was, in point of fact, we can learn only from the New Testament, which, however, makes only brief allusions to the subject. The Apostles, as Jesus had done before them, addressed the people in the synagogues, the remaining part of the synagogue worship being continued. The hostility of the Jews compelling them afterwards to leave the synagogue, they formed separate organized assemblies.† Gathering their first churches from the synagogues, they retained after they were excluded from them a similar mode of worship, and the same, or nearly the same, officers. Only the Supper was added, which for a long time formed part of the Christian worship of every Lord's day. Neither the teaching, nor the delivery of an address, nor the singing, nor the offering of prayers, was confined to any persons officially appointed, but others took part in them as they were able, female speakers being placed by St. Paul under certain restrictions.

* Jahn's Biblical Archæology, § 372, 397.

† Le Clerc, [Hist. Eccles.] refers the organization of the first Christian congregations to the year 47. We afterwards, however, hear of St. Paul as still preaching in the synagogues.

This is all which it is necessary to say of the first Christian worship, as far as its character can be gathered from the New Testament, the only source of information respecting it. What is left of the writings of the immediate successors of the Apostles, if we possess any portion of them, is not of a nature to throw any special light on the subject of the public religious services of the day, even could we distinguish what is genuine from the additions of a later hand. But when we come down to near the middle of the second century we find genuine and undisputed writings, from which we can learn something of the worship of those times. And we may take this as a tolerably fair representation of the worship of the early, though not of the primitive, believers, — we mean that included in a period of fifty years or a little more, from about the year 130 or 140, onward to near the end of the century. The simplicity of the ancient worship was, during this period, in a measure retained, though before the middle of the century there was some departure from it, and before its close very considerable changes took place.

Two writers belonging to this period have left us a brief, an exceedingly brief, notice of Christian worship, and one of them, a somewhat particular description of the rites of Baptism and the Supper as administered in his day.* These are Justin Martyr and Tertullian, the former of whom wrote before the century had half expired, and the latter as it was drawing to its conclusion. Tertullian's notice is so brief as to be of little use. He simply enumerates the parts of worship in the following order, — the reading of the "Scriptures," singing of psalms, the address or exhortation, and the offering of prayers.†

Justin Martyr, the earlier writer of the two, is somewhat more particular, though still very brief. As this is

* The Apostolical Constitutions cannot be used as an authority for the worship of this period. Nobody now thinks of ascribing them to the Apostles, or to Clement. Parts of them could not have been written earlier than the fourth or fifth centuries. Portions of them are of an earlier date, and may be read for their bearing on Christian life and worship at the end of the third century, though from the uncertainty of the period of their composition, the injudicious use of them may lead to great confusion and error. The Orthodox accuse them of *Arianizing*.

† De Anima, c. g.

the most explicit account, however, which is found in Christian antiquity, we will give it entire.

"On the day of the Sun, as it is called, (Sunday) there is," says Justin, "a meeting together in one place of all who dwell in the cities or in the country, and the Memoirs by the Apostles, or writings of the Prophets, are read for a sufficient time. Then, when the reader has finished, the person presiding make an address, exhorting to an imitation of those good things. Afterwards we all rise together, and pray. Then, (as before related*)

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* Justin had previously given an account of Baptism and the Supper. The form of baptism, in his day, still retained something of its ancient simplicity, though not all of it. He does not mention "catechumens," nor catechumenical instruction, yet baptism in his time was accompanied with prayer and fasting. "The persons to be baptized," he says, "believing what is taught by us, and professing their ability to live accordingly, are instructed to pray, and fasting to seek of God the remission of their past sins, we praying and fasting with them; they are then taken to a place where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we were regenerated: in the name of the Father of the universe and the Lord God, of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; they then receive the laving of water." * * "After this, the believer (baptized one) is brought to where those called brethren are assembled to make common prayer earnestly for themselves, and for the illuminated (baptized) one, and for all others everywhere." The "kiss of peace" was then given, and the supper administered in the manner above related, the "president of the brethren" taking the "bread and wine and water," and offering over them, says Justin, "praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." The baptized person then partook with the rest, those "called by us deacons" distributing to all present. (Justin, Apol. 1.) Whether baptism took place on Sunday, or on some other day, Justin does not inform us. If on Sunday, it probably took place also at other times. Justin does not mention the ceremony in his enumeration of the parts of Sunday worship. In Tertullian's time, (A. D. 200,) other ceremonies were used in baptism. Milk and honey were tasted by the person baptized. The anointing, too, was used in imitation of the Jewish ceremony of anointing the priesthood, and the sign of the cross was made. (De Corona Mil.—De Baptismo.) The form of baptism was the same as that now used. Nothing in Christian antiquity disproves the custom of infant baptism. Justin does not mention it; but Tertullian recognizes its existence, without speaking of it as a novelty. Our business here is only with the *form* of baptism, not with the *theory* of the Fathers on the subject. The same remark may be extended to the Supper. Justin speaks of the bread and wine as the "body and blood" of Jesus; but there is nothing in his language which compels us to interpret it as any other than figurative, in the same way as we interpret the expression of the Saviour, "This is my body."

We said that Justin does not mention catechumens. "The truth is," says Beausobre, "that the first Christians had not the discipline which was afterward established, and did not distinguish between the catechumens and the faithful. They preached the Gospel. They who embraced it and declared solemnly that they believed in Jesus Christ were baptized, and were admitted at once to the communion of Christians. They passed

prayer being ended, bread and wine and water are brought, and in like manner the president offers prayer and thanks, according to his ability, and the people express their assent by saying Amen. There is then a distribution made of those things over which thanks have been given to each one present, and a partaking of them, and a portion is sent to the absent by the deacons. And those who are affluent and are disposed give, as each one chooses; and what is collected is deposited with the president, and with it he assists orphans and widows, those who on account of illness or any other cause are in want, those who are in bonds, strangers dwelling among us, and, in a word, takes care of all who have need. We meet together on the day of the Sun, because that is the first day, when God, having wrought a change in darkness and matter, made the world; and because Jesus Christ, our Saviour, on that day rose from the dead. For the day before that of Saturn they crucified him; and the day after that of Saturn, which is the day of the Sun, appearing to his Apostles and disciples, he taught those things which we have delivered to you.*

This, meagre as it is, is the minutest description of Christian worship which has come down to us from any early writer. It shows clearly that the simplicity of this worship was as yet in a great measure preserved. Neither bishop nor priest is alluded to; but as in every assembly there must be one to preside, so here the president of the brethren is mentioned, who seems to have had no more authority than one of our Congregational ministers, and to have very much resembled them, or rather to have been identical in office with them, as the services, in fact, were almost identical with our usual Congregational services; the principal difference being, that in ancient times some one else was employed to read from the Scriptures, and instead of a regular discourse on some single subject or text, the whole passage or passages read were made the subject of comment, or rather of a prac-

from the society of the Gentiles, or that of the Jews, into the Christian Church, without any other ceremony than that of renouncing their errors, confessing Jesus Christ, and receiving baptism. (Histoire de Manichée et du Manichéisme. T. ii. p. 124.)

The custom of baptism "for" or, "in behalf of" the dead, (see 1 Cor. xv. 29,) though we have no evidence of its extensive prevalence, is alluded to by several of the Fathers. A person living was baptized as a substitute for one who had died without baptism, as security against the future condemnation of the departed one.

* Apol. 1.

tical exhortation. In truth, the bishops of those days were simply Congregational bishops, or ministers.

We will now proceed to some remarks on the several parts of the service already mentioned. The first will not long detain us. It consisted, according to the testimonies just given, and the general consent of antiquity, of the reading, by some one designated for the purpose, of portions from the Old Testament, and from the Gospels, called by Justin "Memoirs by the Apostles." Other writings suited to warm and elevate the affections, however, were occasionally used, in addition; among which, Eusebius mentions the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.* How early the reading of the two last mentioned writings was introduced, does not appear. Eusebius says that he had known the former of them read in the churches in his day, and the latter, he says, was read both in his day and in "times past." At a later period, the writings of Ephrem the Syrian were also read in the public assemblies of Christians, after the Scriptures. But neither these nor the other productions just mentioned, as is evident, were placed on a level with the writings of the prophets and the Apostolic Memoirs, or Gospels, which are what were called the *Scriptures* by eminence; and the reading of which constituted the first act of Christian worship.

Singing seems to have followed next, though Justin does not mention it. It is very certain that it formed part of the ancient worship. Pliny alludes to Christian singing, and Tertullian and most of the old Christian writers speak of it in connection with domestic and social worship. Of the nature of this singing, however, little is known, as neither the music nor the hymns of the ancient church have been preserved, if we except a few Scriptural doxlogies or ascriptions, very different from those used in after times. We sometimes hear of the hymns of the "primitive church," but no such hymns are now extant. The old Hebrew songs were much used by the early believers, and in addition, some hymns, called "hymns of the brethren," because written by them; but these latter have long since perished, and not a fragment of them remains. The oldest Christian hymn which has survived, is one beginning, "Hail light,"

* Hist. Eccles. L. iii. c. 3, 16.

in Greek, of uncertain authorship, found at the end of the writings of Clement of Alexandria, who flourished at the beginning of the third century. This is a hymn of a very ordinary character.*

Of the nature of the primitive singing we may be said to know as little, almost, as of the hymns. It was probably a kind of recitative, or chant, the whole assembly, or the greater part of it, at least, joining. For a long time Christians had no choir singing. The antiphonal or responsive singing was sometimes used, having come in from the Jewish church, but this did not demand a choir. The first Christian choir of which we have any account, is that of Antioch, near the end of the fourth century. This was a carefully trained choir, and the changes effected by means of it in church music were soon after introduced into the West by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, to whom the Ambrosian chant owes its origin. Still the assembly continued for some time longer to take part in the singing; and the old and primitive congregational singing was not finally given up without a sigh and a struggle.

But it is no part of our business at this time to give the history and progress of the change. There could have been little art or refinement in the old singing. That musical taste should have been much cultivated among the early

* In truth, of the oldest writers of hymns for Christian worship we may be said to know nothing. None is mentioned by name till near the expiration of the second century. The "psalms and hymns of the brethren," said, by an anonymous author, quoted by Eusebius, (L. v. c. 28.) to have been "written at the beginning," were appealed to in refutation of the heretic Marcion; but their age is uncertain as well as their character. Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch in Syria, undertook, during the latter part of the third century, to reform the melody of his church. He wished to restore, as he professed, what he regarded as the old doctrine, the old hymns, and old music. His enemies, however, accused him of innovation, and of attempting to have hymns sung in praise of himself, a charge not to be credited without better evidence than we possess, in the absence of every fragment of the hymns. The earliest writers of hymns of any note, whose productions have been preserved, belonged to the Syrian Church. These were, Bardesanes, who lived in the second century, and Harmonius, his son, to whose strains the Syrians listened with peculiar delight. They were followed by Ephrem, many of whose hymns, which are said to have rivalled those of his predecessors in poetic charms, are still preserved. But their sweetness, like some subtle perfume, seems to have evaporated with time. Arius also, and many others, heretical and orthodox, wrote hymns; but none of the primitive hymns, we repeat, are left us, and we have, therefore, no means of judging of their character. See more on this subject in Christian Examiner, for March, 1840, pp. 1—20.

believers, who had no temples nor churches, who assembled for worship in private dwellings, and, in times of persecution, in caverns, on shipboard, and in whatever secure and sequestered place could be found, and often in the night, would be an unnatural supposition.* No doubt, their music, like the rest of their worship, was simple and inartificial enough; but it did not the less stir the soul for this reason. The popular airs which become incorporated with the music of a people are always simple, and are the more affecting for being so. They are addressed to the feelings rather than to the intellect, and the feelings are always simple. In devotion, the heart leads; and it requires no intricate machinery to put it in motion. Reasoning may be cold and artificial, but the characteristics of devotion are warmth and simplicity, and of these qualities the ancient singing, like much of that which stirred the heart of Germany in the early days of the Reformation under Luther, and was again revived by Wesley and his coadjutors, largely partook. It touched the chord of devotion. There was in it the religious element; and to such music, we may add, simple, earnest, devout, having some definite expression, some power

* The time of the erection of the first Christian churches is unknown. From Minutius Felix, who wrote early in the third century, it appears that Christians in his time were reproached with having "neither temples, nor altars, nor images," and they confessed the fact. At this time, therefore, Christian churches could not have been very common. Yet there is reason to believe that they began to be reared as early, at least, as the end of the second century. If we could credit the Chronicle of Edessa, a Christian church was destroyed in that place by an inundation, A. D. 202. This is the first of which we have any express mention. Tertullian, who wrote about the same period, seems to allude to places set apart for Christian worship. (De Idol. c. 7.—De Corona Mil. c. 3.) Tillemont, (Hist. Eccles. T. iii., p. 120, ed. Brux., 1732,) finds the first mention of them as known to the Heathen, in the time of Maximin, (A. D. 235,) during the persecution under whom Origen says they were burned. It would seem that they began to be built in considerable numbers about the middle of the third century. Near its close, during the period which immediately preceded the persecution under Diocletian, (A. D. 303,) Christians long enjoyed a state of palmy prosperity, and then edifices for worship began to rise, marked by a splendor before unknown. "Christians," says Eusebius, (L. viii. c. 1.) "were no longer content with the old edifices, but erected spacious churches from the very foundation, throughout all the cities." The "old edifices" here spoken of, no doubt, were the first churches of the Christians, which, having stood fifty years, or a little more, about as long as the first humble edifices of worship erected in this country by our Puritan fathers, and being found dilapidated, or insufficient to accommodate the number of worshipers, or too mean to satisfy a growing taste for luxury and elegance, now yielded to more magnificent structures.

of concentrating the thoughts and feelings, the heart of man, as man, will be ever faithful. We do not say that the old rude music should have been continued, nor assert that we should now do well to go back to it. We do not consider artistic excellence in music as incompatible with devotion. They may be united; and their union, we conceive, constitutes the perfection of church music. But choir music does not necessarily imply their union. There may be discord and bad taste exhibited in that, as well as in congregational singing; and they may be more offensive, as they are accompanied with more pretension. We have known a choir shout, as a voluntary, a Hosanna chorus after a penitential sermon. One of the first requisites, whether of congregational or choir music, is that it should be appropriate. If it be appropriate and devotional, the more evidence of faithful culture, and the more artistic excellence it exhibits, the better, no doubt. Simplicity is often the result of the highest culture, and the last attainment of art. High musical culture is certainly desirable, and we should be among the last to speak disparagingly of it.

After the hymn came preaching. But this was very different from our modern preaching. It consisted of a simple exposition of the words which had been read, accompanied with an exhortation to practice. This was not a learned exposition; it was the result of no searching criticism, for the early Christian teachers were unlettered men. Its sole design was to enkindle the heart and affections and furnish helps to a Christian life. As Christianity found its way to minds more enlightened, and the amount of intelligence increased in the church, this style did not satisfy, and we find men like Origen pouring out for an hour rich stores of thought and abundance of varied learning, and the power of the preacher became vastly augmented. Still preaching, as yet, retained much of its explicative and hortatory character. The influence of Grecian genius and taste, however, was more and more felt, and sermons, especially in the East, finally assumed a highly rhetorical air, though in the Western churches they continued short, and some time after the period to which our present remarks refer — in the latter part of the fourth century — the Romans were accused of having no preaching at

all. Liturgical services in a great measure took the place of preaching. This was the beginning of Puseyism.

The prayer followed the exposition or address, the whole congregation rising and standing. "We all rise together and pray," says Justin. This was the only posture which was allowed on Sunday. "On the Lord's day," says Tertullian, "we deem it unlawful to fast, or to kneel in prayer,"* Sunday being universally regarded as a festival by the ancient church, because in that day the Lord rose from the dead. The same rule, says Tertullian, was observed during the whole interval of fifty days between the Passover, or Easter, and Pentecost. The people prayed standing with hands outspread and eyes uplifted, in token of joy and gratitude for the Savior's resurrection, through which man was raised to the hope of immortality. In this practice, of standing and praying with the hands elevated towards heaven, the ancient church was uniform on Sunday and during the whole interval above mentioned. Prayer, too, was usually offered with the face turned towards the East. At what time this custom became general it is not easy to ascertain. Writers at the end of the second century recognise it as existing in their day, and several fanciful reasons were assigned for it.

When it is said, that the whole congregation "rose together and prayed," it is meant, we suppose, that all stood and joined in the responsive Amen, the person presiding uttering the prayer, as it is expressly said in regard to the prayer of communion, — "the president (of the brethren) offers up prayers and thanks, according to his ability, and the people express their assent by saying, Amen." It is very clear that no forms were used by the early Christians. All the expressions we meet with in connection with prayer, and the attitude of the worshipper forbid the supposition of their use. "We pray," says Tertullian, "without a monitor," or book, "because we pray from the heart."† For three centuries, at least, there were no public written forms in use in the churches. Dr. Brett, who made a collection of the ancient Liturgies, as the Clementine, those (so called) of St. James, St. Mark, and others, and who is an authority referred to by the Oxford writers,

* De Corona Mil. c. 3. † Apol. c. 30.

freely acknowledges that there was "no written Liturgy used in the church till St. Basil's time, that is, fifty years after the council of Nice,"* which brings us down to the latter part of the fourth century. With this agree, in the main, the Oxford Tractarians themselves, who do not pretend to trace existing Liturgies farther back than the fifth century, except one, which they refer to the fourth.†

The services were concluded with the rite of the Supper, or Communion rite, which among the ancient Christians, as we have said, formed part of the worship of every Lord's day, — as much so as the prayer, reading of the Scriptures, the address or preaching. This was the peculiarity of their worship. The prominence given to this rite constituted one of its most marked distinctions, and their worship can be but imperfectly understood without a knowledge of their views and practice respecting it. This must be our apology for dwelling upon it at somewhat greater length than might, at first view, seem needful in an account of the worship of the early ages. We wish to place the early Christian idea of the rite fully before our readers. To do this we must trace its history regarded as *a rite of the affections*, for that was the aspect under which it specially presented itself to the minds of the ancient believers. As a rite of the affections it came by degrees to connect itself with the memory of the dead, and was celebrated at the graves of departed Christians and martyrs. We wish to embrace in our view these facts, essential to the full understanding of the devotion of those times.

To form a just conception of the rite thus viewed as a rite of the affections, we must advert for a moment to the original grounds of it. We must call to mind the circumstances from which it took its rise, and bear them in remembrance as we proceed to gather up such notices of it as the writings of Christian antiquity furnish. — It was the Passover, a memorial feast of the Jews, and Jesus was eating and drinking with the disciples for the last time. His words show the deep workings of his mind, and with what emotion he had looked forward to this parting interview.

* Collection of the principal Liturgies, &c. with a Dissertation upon them. By Thomas Brett, L. L. D. London. 1838. pp. 145, 148, 339.
† Tract 63.

With what touching simplicity has the Evangelist recorded the event: "And when the hour was come, he sat down and the twelve Apostles with him. And he said unto them, with desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer. For I say unto you that I will not any more eat thereof till it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God."

According to the custom of the Jews in eating the Passover, the master of the feast took the bread, having first offered short thanks over it, which was called blessing it, and distributed it to those who sat with him. He afterwards passed round the cup, called the cup of blessing, thanks being given over it, and all drank of it. These ceremonies Jesus found already in use. As the master of the feast he was celebrating with his disciples, he gave thanks and distributed the bread and wine, but he gave to the ceremony a new turn and significance. This was the extent of his innovation. He instituted no new rite, but only gave a new meaning to one already in existence. Hereafter the disciples, and as it has been generally understood, the faithful in all ages, were to partake of the feast in remembrance of him, of his friendship and love, and of the spiritual deliverance he had wrought for mankind.

The rite thus originated in the affectionate intercourse Jesus maintained with his disciples on earth, and the circumstances of his parting interview as they sat together in that "large upper room." It was truly a rite of the affections, and around it, as it was afterwards celebrated, clustered many hallowed associations and remembrances. It called up the last words and last look of their Master as they sat there together, "the same night in which he was betrayed." It appealed to the affections, and for a time could hardly have been repeated, one would think, without tears. But, no. Or if tears were shed, they would be tears of joy for the remembered resurrection, for by that Jesus had been restored to their sight, and their faith in human immortality had been confirmed. Their eyes had seen him. He had occasionally had intercourse with them, and had spoken to them of the "things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven," and leading them out as far as Bethany, to the Mount of Olives, with which were already connected so many affecting reminiscences, "he lifted up his hands and

blessed them, and a cloud received him out of their sight." This scene would blend with all their future recollections of Jesus, and his image would be associated with joy rather than with sadness, even in the rite which carried back their minds to his earthly conflicts and agony.

For some time the disciples met daily and they partook together of a common repast, at the close of which bread and wine were distributed in imitation of their Lord at the last supper with the twelve, and as a bond of fraternal union with each other. Thus the rite was originally an act, — at least it would so seem, — of daily Christian communion. But this custom appears not to have continued long. As the disciples were multiplied, it would almost of necessity terminate.

When these daily assemblies ceased, the Supper was made part of the service of every Lord's day. It still continued, however, it would seem, for a time to form part of a social repast, a custom alluded to in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. These simple repasts with which it was united, were called among the early Christians *agapæ*, or feasts of love, in token of the affection Christians bore to each other. In these feasts all differences of earthly condition were forgotten. Rich and poor, high and low, masters and servants, met together on a level, for in Christ there was no distinction founded on earthly condition, but all were one in him. After a time, however, abuses creeping in, the Supper of the Lord was separated from these love-feasts, and celebrated apart, still retaining its character as a social rite. It was participated in by all Christians present, that is, by all who had been baptized in token of their faith in Jesus as the Messiah, the only article of faith originally required. The method was, for each one according to his ability to bring a portion of bread and wine, of which the presiding brother, "he who presided over the brethren," as Justin expresses it, took what was necessary, and offering thanks over it, it was distributed among those present, and a portion of it was taken to strangers, to the sick, and to prisoners who might be prevented from attending the congregation, in token of remembrance and brotherly union. So Justin in the passage quoted informs us. Thus was the simplicity of the rite, and its character as a badge of affection among Chris-

tians, as well as of their love to their common Savior, preserved. What remained of the offerings was regarded as a sacred deposit for the use of the poor, the aged, orphans, the shipwrecked mariner, those suffering in the cause of religion, condemned to the mines, banished to the islands, or imprisoned.*

As to the time of celebrating the rite, — morning, or evening, — the practice of antiquity was not uniform. The more common seems to have been the evening, though it was sometimes celebrated in the morning before light. The irregularity is easily accounted for. Christians seem to have met but once for religious services on the days on which they met at all, and the time and manner of their coming together were determined by circumstances. Before the time of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, that is, for a little more than three centuries after the commencement of our era, the cessation of labor on Sunday was not recognized by any public authority, and slaves, who were numerous, and many others probably, would not be allowed to suspend their ordinary occupations at all hours. Then, in times of persecution Christians assembled where and when they could, in caves, in the hold of ships, in cemeteries; and they often held nocturnal assemblies in secure and unfrequented places. Pliny speaks of them as meeting before it was light, and when and wherever they met on Sunday this memorial feast was celebrated. Tertullian mentions its celebration in assemblies held before the dawn.†

Thus far the rite seems to have retained much of its original purity. It drew closer the bond of Christian amity and love, and purified and elevated the affections by raising the mind to a contemplation of the ascended Savior. Through it Christians were led to recognize their personal relation to him. He was brought near, — nearer, it is to be feared, than we often feel him now. The rite was more honored. It was a rite in which all Christians felt that they had an individual interest; it was part of their worship, and their affections were moved by it as ours are not now. It was a *familiar* rite. It was as yet surrounded by no terror; there were no superstitious fears

* Tertullian, Apol. c. 29. † De Corona Mil. c. 3.

connected with its observance. These were of later origin, and may be traced to the abuses which gradually came in, and grew till the simple elements of bread and wine were believed to be changed into the real body and blood of Jesus. The rite ceased to be regarded simply as a commemorative and affectionate service. Church communion was limited to a few. The priesthood was exalted; but that spirit of fraternal love and devotion, which so beautifully manifested itself in the union of the early Christians with their common Head and with each other, disappeared.

It is not our purpose to trace these corruptions. There is another view of the affectionate character of the rite, we are desirous to present, which manifested itself in ancient, though not in the most ancient times. It relates to the connexion of the dead with the living, a connexion which the religion of the Son of Mary, so tender, so elevating, so full of consolation and hope, could not overlook, but in regard to which it awakened ideas and reflections of the most hallowed and interesting character. "Christianity," it has been said, "did not annihilate the natural feelings of man, but only ennobled them." So in regard to "mourning for the dead: —"

"From the very beginning Christianity condemned the wild, and often hypocritical expression of grief, by which the remains of the dead were accompanied to the grave, — yet it required no cold, stoical resignation and apathy, but only softened and ennobled the bitterness of lamentation by the spirit of faith and hope, and of a child-like acquiescence in the dealings of eternal love — a love which takes away only to give again in greater splendor and reality, which divides only to unite again those whom it divided, in a glorified state for all eternity. When multitudes were carried away by a desolating pestilence at Carthage, Cyprian said to his church, 'Our brethren are not to be lamented, who are forced from the world by the call of the Lord, since we know that they are not lost, but sent before us, — that they have taken their departure from us in order to precede us. We may long for them as we do for those who are absent from us on a voyage, but we may not lament them; we may not here below clothe ourselves in black garments of mourning, while they are already clothed in the white garments of glory above. * * * There a vast multitude of them that are dear to us await our arrival, a multitude of parents, brethren and children who are now

secure of their own salvation and anxious only about ours. What a mutual joy will it be for them and us, when we come into their presence and receive their embrace.' "*

It is not surprising that regarding the dead with these feelings, and being accustomed to hold yearly festivals at their graves, and particularly at the graves of martyrs, they should call in the aid of a rite seemingly so appropriate by its significance and the circumstances of its origin. And so it was. At the graves of loved ones who had gone hence families and relatives annually assembled with commemorative observances, with which they mingled this Christian rite, the token of an abiding communion with the departed, who having died in the faith and hope of the Christian now lived with Jesus. How tender and affecting must have been such a service. And a rite so instituted, — a parting memorial of Jesus, and emblematic of the Christian's union with him, — how suited was it to an occasion on which the purest affections of our nature were blended with the best hopes and consolations of religion.

So, too, whole communities and churches assembled at the tombs of martyrs, celebrating the day of their death as their natal day, the day of their birth into a more glorious existence, and this rite formed part of the festival service there performed. At these commemorative festivals offerings were often brought in the name and in behalf of the dead, and they were remembered in the prayers of the people.† Though many abuses afterwards grew out of these observances, as mass for the dead, and extravagant honors paid to the martyrs, terminating in invocations and prayers to saints, yet the original observances were not only innocent, but they naturally sprang from that spirit of earnest faith and love which marked the first ages. In those ages the Supper of the Lord had a meaning. It spoke to the heart. It called up a thousand affecting recollections. It carried the thoughts forward to that invisible

* Neander, Hist. Chris. Relig. and Church, vol. i, p. 339, ed. Lon. The quotation from Cyprian is from his treatise "De Mortalitate," (sub fin.). Immediately following the passage quoted it is added, — "There the glorious company of Apostles, there the multitude of exulting prophets, there the innumerable assembly of martyrs," etc., the original probably of some of the expressions found in the "Te Deum."

† Tertullian mentions both the offerings and the prayers. De Corona Mil. c. 3, and in other places. And Cyprian, in several of his Epistles.

world, into which so many had already entered, and which would soon be to all a present reality. It was a soothing service — a service of joy. It was characterized by the giving of thanks, and hence its name, the Eucharist — giving of thanks. Nor was the rite forgotten at the bridal service. The wedded pair pledged their fidelity at the altar by partaking together of the eucharistical elements. Thus was the union of hearts, that source of so many precious joys and hopes, consecrated by the same observance which recognized the common union of Christians with their Lord, and with the innumerable company of glorified spirits above.

We have thus seen the uses to which the rite was put by the early Christians, the significance they attached to it, the feelings which entered into the celebration of it, — how it connected itself with all that was pure in affection or joyous in hope. We have seen how important a part it formed of the ancient worship of Christians. We have traced it as it mingled with feelings of reverence for the dead, and the honors paid to those who had shed their blood in testimony of their faith in Jesus. We have seen Christians assembling around the graves of their companions and friends, and there observing this feast of love. We have seen this rite, so fitted to touch the sensibility, gradually blend with all hallowed remembrances and anticipations, forever brightening the chain of love, and strengthening that connexion of the living with the dead, by faith that they still exist, and are not forever lost to us, the recognition of which constitutes so beautiful a feature of the religion of Jesus, and without which it would have failed to satisfy the wants of the heart. From that retired upper room at Jerusalem the rite went forth, and founded on the enduring sentiments of human nature, love and devotion, affection for the living and veneration for the departed, it met a ready reception, and young and old joined in it, and they found their spirits refreshed, their hearts comforted and their minds excited to holy thoughts. It would be difficult to devise a rite combining such power over the affections with such exalting uses of faith and holiness.

And well did it harmonize with the simplicity and earnestness of the old Christian worship. These were two distinguishing qualities of that worship, — simplicity and

earnestness. In whatever else it was defective, it was not defective in these. In these qualities, it would have been well, if the worship of succeeding ages had more closely resembled that old and primitive worship. We do not say that all the old forms should be retained. We have no idolatrous veneration for forms, as such. It would have been strange if those adopted by the early Christians, which grew out of the necessities of the times and adapted themselves to those times, should have been found precisely the forms best suited to Christians in all ages. Let them not be regarded as authoritative and inflexible. So to regard them would be to dwell in the letter and neglect the spirit. Let those forms of worship, whether prayer, singing, preaching, reading, or exhortation, be adopted, which best meet the feelings of the worshipper, seem best fitted to purify and elevate the affections, and make men thoroughly Christian in heart and life. Different minds will demand different forms. One will require more of mysticism, and another more of simplicity. Let every one adopt that which brings his soul into nearest communion with God, and most strengthens him in a course of holy living. For ourselves we prefer a great deal of simplicity, and yet we would allow imagination and taste, the poetic element of our nature, love of the grand and beautiful, to be brought into the service of religion; and we see not why they should not be, to a greater extent than they are in some parts of our worship, or than would suit perhaps strict puritanical notions. If we retain the earnestness of the old worship, that is all we need give ourselves any anxiety about. We may safely leave the rest to take care of itself, or the times and the feelings which grow up with them will take care of it. Only we must resist exclusiveness, and assert our right to read Christian antiquity for ourselves, and determine for ourselves what it teaches, and what is the worth of its teachings.

There yet remains one branch of our subject to be treated, — Christian festivals in the early ages, about which we have a few remarks to offer, but the length of the present article compels us to defer them to our next number, the publication of which will fall within the season marked by the most important of these festivals.

A. L.

Art. VI.—MEMOIRS OF WORCESTER.*

Seven years have passed since Dr. Worcester died; and it may seem singular that no memoir of such a man should have appeared before. He began to write his own Life more than twenty years ago. He was urged to do it by his children, and by other friends, particularly Dr. Tuckerman. He began it in 1822, in the form of Letters to Dr. Tuckerman, which he continued at intervals for ten years. But he always complained of the work as unpleasant to him, he wished to employ his time on other, and as he thought, far more important subjects, and he discontinued the autobiography five or six years before his death. We cannot help regretting, that these Letters, so far as finished, have not been published. We know well the judgment and kindness of those by whom they have been read, and we ought perhaps to be satisfied with the reason assigned for not publishing them; namely, that they "do not present his character and works as others saw them and ought to see them." Yet this very feature of deep humility, and the entire simplicity with which such a man must have written of himself, would give the work an additional charm. A simple autobiography of a great or good man is a treasure. It may be, however, that all that is important in the Letters has been inserted in the Memoirs, where we find Dr. Ware has often quoted from them.

These Memoirs have been delayed by unavoidable circumstances. It was Dr. Worcester's desire, expressed to his son in committing his manuscripts to his care, that Dr. Channing, Dr. Tuckerman, and Dr. Ware, jr. should advise and aid him in making selections for publication. It is remarkable that all the individuals thus selected should have passed away, before they could fulfil the wish of their revered friend. Dr. Tuckerman agreed to examine the manuscripts and prepare them for publication, but died before he could perform any part of the work. Dr. Channing was not able to attempt it, but soon followed to the

* *Memoirs of Rev. Noah Worcester, D. D.* By the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., D. D. With a Preface, Notes, and a concluding chapter, by Samuel Worcester. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1844. 12mo. pp. 155.

grave; leaving Dr. Ware alone, who had been particularly requested by the others, and by the friends of the family, to write the Memoirs. He wished to do it, but severe duties and feeble health prevented, so that it was not till the autumn of 1841 that he gave himself to the work at all, and then very feebly. Few can know with what extreme difficulty he wrote all that was written. For he likewise had now reached the end of life. His strength was gone. His last year had come, and this was his last work. During brief intervals of comparative health, or rather freedom from prostrating disease, he labored upon it diligently, and wrote five of the eight chapters which he designed. But these he was not able to correct, and the others were left either untouched or in fragments. In this imperfect state the papers were left by Dr. Ware, and put into the hands of the Rev. Thomas Worcester. By him they have have been arranged and published. And few men could have performed this delicate and difficult task so well. With the double labor of correcting and arranging the manuscripts of another, and of being faithful without being partial to a father's character, Mr. Worcester has shown the utmost candor and justice. Differing from his father on important points of religious belief and social action, with tastes and pursuits very unlike, he seems never to have allowed his confidence or admiration to be in the least impaired, but has taken great pains to place in their true light the exalted virtues of a revered parent. He has written a preface, and interspersed notes of some length, connecting and filling out the unfinished parts, yet leaving them entirely distinct. The work therefore is almost entirely Dr. Ware's, and so far as it extends is such a work as we should expect from such a hand, — simple, lucid, free from exaggeration, and portraying a Christian's character with a Christian's temper. Mr. Worcester himself has thus spoken of it, in the close of his Preface: "In respect to the following Memoirs, I owe it to the memory of Dr. Ware to say, that they seem to me to be written with great candor, ability, and fidelity. In some parts I discover marks of his very feeble health; but on all the principal topics I think the work will be found highly satisfactory."

Satisfactory as regards the writer, it is. But not as

regards the subject. We want to know more of Noah Worcester. The delight with which we have read these imperfect sketches makes us long for a more intimate acquaintance with his early and inner life, his habits of thought, his mental conflicts, his indefatigable labors, his correspondence, (of which we have nothing,) and his intercourse with those religious friends and social reformers with whom he co-operated in part, but from whom in many things he widely differed. He is one of the very few prominent men, against whom we have seldom heard a whisper, although he had changed completely his theological position, and had taken a stand far in advance of the world in regard to prevalent evils, in opposition to some of the strongest prejudices and passions. He did, indeed, at one period of his life, suffer suspicion and reproach on account of his heresy. But the beautiful temper which he manifested, the gentle yet manly courage with which he replied to accusers, if he replied at all, seems to have gained him more friends than he lost; and with all changes and trials, he enjoyed through a long life a high degree of that peace which he so loved and advocated.

Like many of our most remarkable men, Dr. Worcester was self-educated. Born in Hollis, a small town of New Hampshire, in 1758, when schools were restricted both in character and time, learning to write on birch bark from the want of paper, studying neither grammar nor geography, nor seeing a dictionary before he was eighteen, when he speaks of the privilege of "perusing" it, compelled early to resign all schooling for hard labor, he yet qualified himself to teach, and for nine successive winters had the care of the village school. Part of his training too had been in the army. For he who has since secured for himself the exalted and imperishable name of the Friend of Peace, took his first impressions of war in the actual field. In the opening of the Revolution he joined the army as a fifer, and was afterward "fife-major." It is not said that he ever bore arms, but he was in the battle of Bunker's Hill, and again of Bennington. After this he left the camp, and could not be persuaded to return to it, though he had offers of promotion. He did not love it. He felt painfully its effect on his moral nature, an effect of which most men think least. Naturally susceptible and

sympathetic, he found he was becoming hardened. In his own simple account: — "The first funeral I attended at home after having been in the army, I was shocked to find myself so changed, and so unmoved on such an occasion." In his sensibility to this change, and the pain it gave him, we see much of the character which subsequently put forth its power, and left a mark upon the age.

The parents and grandparents of Noah Worcester were eminently religious, and he grew up under the best moral influences. He could not remember when he had not a love for divine things. At the age of twelve he was called, in his father's absence, to lead in family worship, and continued to do it from that time; a fact, of which there are probably few examples to be found. He did not, however, make any public "profession of religion," until after his marriage, which took place at the early age of twenty-one. Removing then to the small town of Thornton, his religious character developed itself, and he and his wife connected themselves with the church. He speaks of this event with great interest, but in a way that shows a decided tendency even then to that liberality of thought and feeling, which had such an influence on his subsequent life. He knew he had always had a reverence for God, and endeavored to obey the precepts of the Gospel; but could not name the day of his conversion, nor recall any of those peculiar experiences of heart and agitations of mind, which are by many thought essential, and for which he had himself waited from the bias of education. His testimony on this point is given simply, and is very valuable. Late in life he expresses the conviction, "that the same incorrect views by which he was detained from joining the church at an earlier period, have had a similar effect on the minds of many others, who were truly pious people; and that such views have not only subjected many pious Christians to great perplexity, but have retarded their advances in true godliness, and exposed them to temptation."

It seems to have been in consequence of the feelings thus awakened at the time of his joining the church, differing from the feelings of most around him, that Mr. Worcester formed the habit of examining religious subjects carefully, and writing his thoughts upon them in "short dissertations." Opportunities for doing this he was obliged

to steal from hard labor, and he wrote much as he sat on his shoemaker's bench, laying down the shoe, taking the lap-board on his knees, and writing; a double occupation which necessity forced upon him, and which his son tells us he continued to a much later period, as he remembers having seen him thus employed. In this way he wrote the first pamphlet that he ever published, a Letter to the Rev. John Murray, suggested by a sermon preached by Mr. Murray, on the "origin of evil." It was not an easy subject for a young uneducated man, who employed most of his time in farming or making shoes. We are not told in what way he treated the subject, except that it was approved by many eminent Hopkinsians. It evidently drew much attention, and he regarded it himself, in after life, as having prepared the way for his becoming a preacher. To this step he was strongly urged, especially by his friend the Rev. Selden Church. His heart was ready for the work, but he had not thought of it as possible. After much reflection he offered himself for examination, was at once approved, and began to preach. This was in 1786, and he tells us that he was not then refused the pulpit of any minister on account of his peculiar opinions or defective education.

We give these facts in the early life of Noah Worcester, not with a design of following his whole history, for that is probably known to all our readers as much as to us, but to mark the opening and progress of his *religious* character. He was settled at the age of twenty-nine as minister of Thornton, where the people had proved him in the various offices of schoolmaster, selectman, townclerk, justice of the peace, and representative, and now made him their religious teacher. He continued with them twenty-three years, living on a very small salary, which could not always be raised, engaging often in common labor for his support, opening his doors to receive and instruct the children when the usual school failed, writing freely for newspapers and periodicals, particularly the "Theological Magazine" in New York; thus accomplishing a ministry of arduous labor and quiet usefulness, terminated only by the inability of the people to maintain him with his increasing family, and an invitation to take temporary charge of a society in Salisbury, where his brother had been compelled by ill-health to suspend the

performance of his ministerial duties. His people were so strongly attached to him, that they refused to dissolve his connection with the church itself, hoping he would return to them. But a more important change had now taken place, a change in his own religious opinions. It speaks well, either for the liberality of many in those days, or for the influence of his own character, that notwithstanding their knowledge of his change, affecting materially his belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, the Church in Thornton wished him still to return. But for other reasons he decided to remain in Salisbury, where he was permanently settled in 1810, and continued as assistant of his brother about three years.

And here he published his "*Bible News*"; a book which is known to have turned many minds, and has perhaps done more than any other one volume, to modify at least the popular faith, in regard to the "Living God, his Only Son, and Holy Spirit," of which subjects it treats. He had been long preparing his mind for it, not only by study and inquiry, but also by frequent conversation with his brethren in the ministry, and occasional writing in periodicals. His difficulties and tendency were known. Still confidence and ministerial intercourse were continued, and he had been employed as first missionary of the New Hampshire Missionary Society, with a clear understanding of his doubts, if not of his heresy. It was, therefore, greatly to his surprise and sorrow, that on the publication of his book his brethren generally withdrew their fellowship, and showed a marked coldness and alienation. This was his first experience of a spirit which never dwelt for a moment in his own breast, and it gave him extreme pain.

This great change, which affected the whole aspect of Mr. Worcester's life from that time, differed from many other changes that have since occurred, similar in regard to doctrine, in that it preceded the public discussion of the subject in this country. Not its consequence, it was rather the cause of that discussion. Men's minds were prepared, and a step so decided in a clergyman so approved quickened the silent thought into open expression. Vindications and assaults began on the side of Trinitarians, especially in Boston and the vicinity, where the growing heresy was

most suspected. The assailed were ready to declare and to defend themselves. The lines were drawn. The *Panoplist* erected "ecclesiastical tribunals," and uttered anathemas. And then it was, that the *Christian Disciple* appeared, and Noah Worcester was called to conduct it; called from the belief, that though with little education or learning, he would bring to the work a clear head, a true courage, a ready pen, and above all, a Christian charity. The founders of the *Disciple*, Channing, Lowell, Tuckerman and Thacher, designed it not as a polemic work, but rather as a promoter of peace between differing brethren; and well did they fix upon one for its editor, who in this and other works was to win for himself the beautiful fame of the peace-maker.

From this time his course is known to all of this community, to which he then removed, and which he never left. We need not speak of subsequent events in a life so quiet, yet so public. Taking the *Disciple* in 1813, and conducting it to the satisfaction of all for five years, when feeble health compelled him to relinquish it, he then gave himself entirely to that great subject, which filled most of his remaining years, and won for him a name and influence that will never die; the subject of War and Peace. It was not to him a new interest. Early in life his attention had been drawn to it by the singular views of the Quakers. And although he then regarded those views as extravagant, and was much engaged as a boy in common trainings, and enlisted twice in the army of the Revolution, he evidently found a military life more and more disagreeable as he went on, and had more difficulty in answering the arguments against all war, or at least in reconciling its spirit with the precepts of the Gospel, until he became convinced that it was his duty to devote his whole mind to the study, and his life to the cause, of Peace. It was in 1814 that he first wrote on the subject, intending only an article for the Christian Disciple, but his mind kindling as he proceeded, he ended with that remarkable production, the "Solemn Review of the Custom of War," which he published the very week that the Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent. It may be doubted if any treatise on any moral subject has had a wider circulation than this tract, or has exerted a more decided influence. It has been translated

into many languages, and gone to all civilized lands. In this country it was followed by immediate results. The Massachusetts Peace Society was formed the next year, December 28, 1815, "and if there was a happy man that day on earth," says Dr. Channing, "it was the founder of this institution." Under the sanction of this Society he began in 1819 the publication of the first periodical of the kind, "The Friend of Peace;" which was continued in quarterly numbers for ten years, nearly all of it from his own pen. And we suppose it is hazarding nothing to say, that no one man in the world has done so much to rouse the general mind to the evils of war, and awaken at least an interest in behalf of peace throughout Christendom, as Noah Worcester.

There are many, and some among good men, who would not envy him this reputation. There were few who went with him entirely when he began to write, and there are few now to whom his views do not seem extravagant. And yet we do not remember to have ever heard him called a fanatic. His character forbade it. His uniform temper forbade it, on whatever subject he wrote. Naturally quick and vehement, he had schooled himself into perfect composure and gentleness. He did not *fight* for peace. In him was no war of passions, or of words. He breathed the spirit which he inculcated. Never was a man better fitted to speak for peace. And has he not spoken strongly, as well as gently? Can he be refuted? We have no space, and perhaps no right here, to take up the subject. But we should do little justice to our own sense of its importance, as well as to the memory of him whose life is before us, if we failed to say, that we have as strong and immoveable a faith in the soundness of his views of this subject, as in the truth of Christianity. If Jesus has said anything clearly and incontrovertibly, he has said that which is utterly inconsistent with war. For deduct as we may from the literalness of his precepts, the question remains, and must be answered, — will those precepts bear *any* sense, which is not violated by any and every kind of war? And even if Jesus had given no direct precepts, could the spirit of his religion be fully manifested, can its design be ever fulfilled, while war is continued or countenanced? For ourselves, we thank the biographer of Dr.

Worcester, that he has made this his chief glory. "His labors for peace elevate him to a rank among his Master's most efficient co-workers, and the substantial benefactors of his race." And heartily do we enter into the feeling which the aged disciple and faithful laborer himself expressed, before his death: — "If I am thankful for anything, I think I am thankful that I was not called out of the world in darkness on the subject of war, and that my mind has been led to examine the subject with so much care. I can reflect on no part of my life or my labors with more pleasure, than on what has been devoted to the cause of peace."

At the age of seventy Dr. Worcester resigned the office of Secretary of the Peace Society, desiring to devote the few years that might be yet given him to distinctly religious subjects. Though infirm and afflicted for years with painful disease, he wished not to be idle, but worked on to the end. His mind seemed unimpaired, and he engaged earnestly in studies which resulted in works of permanent value, such as are not often produced at that period of life. He had not to this time felt entirely satisfied in regard to some of the doctrines of Christianity. Early impressions still remained, and he resolved even at the last hour to inquire how far they were right, and if not right to discard them. The result is known. His book on "The Atoning Sacrifice, a Display of Love, not of Wrath," which has gone through two editions here, and three or four in England; his little treatise on the "Causes and Evils of Contention among Christians," a subject always near his heart, and on which his whole life had spoken; and his larger work with the title of "Last Thoughts on Important Subjects," treating particularly of human depravity and freedom, have been given to the world. Besides these he wrote largely on many kindred themes, and left an astonishing amount of manuscripts ready for the press. Some of these Dr. Ware examined and marked for publication, relating to the Messiah's Kingdom, the Bible, Redemption, Reformation, etc. He wrote numerous poetical articles also, enough, his son says, to make a large volume. The fertility and activity of his mind at that age surprise us. He seems never to have been idle, and never to have read or thought on any subject without writing upon it. It was

this habit in part, perhaps, that led to so diffuse a style, and exposed him to repetition. He may have written too much and read too little. He certainly wrote from his own mind, more than from other minds. It may not be best to publish the half that he has left, but we hope a selection will soon be given to the public.

Not least would it please us to see his thoughts on the last subject which occupied his extreme age — Slavery. It was a fit conclusion of a long life devoted to truth, peace, liberty and love. Dr. Ware says, "he wrote and re-wrote with care a considerable treatise for the press, not many months before his death," on the subject of Slavery. Loose pieces and various essays on this subject have also been found among his papers. Whatever their comparative value, and whatever his views, it would gratify many to know how such a man, on the verge of life, regarded the most important and difficult question affecting the destiny of our country.

Dr. Worcester lived to the age of seventy-nine. He died at Brighton, October 31, 1837, in calm faith and the hope full of immortality. We attempt no delineation of his character. His humility and candor, his conscientiousness and courage, his love of truth, his spirit of piety, his fidelity to every talent and trust, his disinterested and unbounded benevolence, appear in every part of his life. 'His heart was open as the day,' and every one who approached him in any way could read it. We are grateful for his life. We think not of his death, for such men never die. We are grateful for these Memoirs, broken and unfinished as they are. We thank God, that he permitted Henry Ware to spend his last strength upon the life of Noah Worcester. And we have felt, that the least we could do, was to record the prominent events of that life, in the pages of a journal so associated in its origin with the name of this Christian philanthropist. E. B. H.

Art. VII. — OUR RELIGIOUS TIMES.

An Address delivered before the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School," on the 12th of July, 1844. By Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D. D.

Fellow Students and Christian Brothers: — It is with unaffected reluctance that I have come here to-day, to endeavor to perform a service, which I had no opportunity to decline. Not from any insensibility to the honor you have conferred, and not from any indifference to the time and occasion. These meetings of those who have been trained to the sacred profession under the same influences furnish fit audience, however few, to call out the exercise of the best powers. And these returning seasons, these eras so soon closed of what we call the student-life, these little generations of three years, these religious "commencements" which have reminded us this morning that the oldest among us are continuing to learn what the youngest are just undertaking to teach, are full of the most serious and tender associations. But the topics to which I am the most used, and the most attached by use, — whether relating to theoretical or practical religion, — would be here out of place. A ministerial position that has been somewhat recluse offers few advantages and leaves small inducement to deviate into unaccustomed subjects. I could wish, therefore, that this service had been committed to hands not so entirely mistrustful of possessing any power either to instruct or gratify you. This apologetic preface shall close, however, with the simple expression of confidence that your candor will excuse every thing, with which you are wearied or from which you dissent, in a discourse that your inexorable kindness has compelled me to prepare.

In deciding upon its theme, I have been led, though with some misgiving, to choose that of the posture of our religious times; if, indeed, that can be called a posture which is never in repose. Our part of the Gospel domain has been reached by the agitations of opinion, that have shaken and divided all other parts. It is continually presenting different aspects, which it may be interesting to contemplate. It is continually turning up to view different devices and modes of action, which may profitably be put to the

question, whether they are wise or not. There are cravings among our congregations, unknown to the more quiet days that have passed by; and there are movements among those who guide them, that would have seemed strange to their predecessors; and there are tendencies in various directions, leading to good, no doubt, in the general result, but which at present are of a mixed and uncertain character, dangerous from being overcharged, and in some instances threatening the wildest revolutions. Here is more ground than I could well cover at once, or lay out in any even distributions. But will you give me your indulgence, in a rambling course of remarks upon these recent phenomena; in a few observations, not very nicely arranged, upon some of the experiments and dangers of our own religious day, and in our own religious denomination? And let no one start at the phrase, "our denomination," on an occasion so general as that on which we are assembled. No one will have reason to complain, I hope, if the term is defined rather rigorously. I am aware that very different creeds and church methods may be arrayed before me in this holy and academic spot, that brings together and disperses abroad every year a fresh family of the most various persuasions. I am aware that the School at which we were nursed may number among its children — good and faithful children, too — persons who have arrived at very different results of inquiry. For it is a generous institution, inviting research, imposing no stint and declaring no disabilities. Let me greet them all, the farthest off from my way of thinking as friendly as those that are the nearest. But I know also as well that it has brought us up, in the main, according to the largeness of its free nature. I know that, on the great points that divide Christendom, we are on the whole agreed. We are Protestant; we are Congregational; we are un-Calvinized. If there are any of whom this is not true, they must be an extremely small company. I do not feel called upon, therefore, by any supposed proprieties of the occasion, to suppress or avoid the fact. It shall rather be assumed; and not studiously kept out of sight, as if we would appear ignorant of it, or were sorry for it. I desire to record my allegiance to the community of a faith, the broadest that is known among revering believers. I rejoice that it brings so many of us as it does

under the same law of Christian liberty, and the ample folds of the tabernacle that God hath pitched and not man. It is too late to shrink from being classed. The little that I shall have to say will indeed apply to all sects, and in pretty equal proportions. In several respects, the pressure of the time is much alike upon them. But you will permit me to take ground with the most perfect frankness; and to appear to address those whom I have actually in my mind and before my eyes, and no abstract and indistinct body whatever.

A word first, then, upon what I have ventured to name the religious cravings among many laymen of the present times. They have often taken the shape of demands upon ministerial labor, and even of usurpations upon ministerial independence, that have oppressed clergymen of the most differing doctrines to the same extent, and have made the places that were faithfully filled in every one of them insecure. But I will look at them at present only in their better forms. Certainly there has been given of late years an unusual attention to the subject of religion. A fresh curiosity has been awakened respecting its doctrines. A stronger interest has been taken in its outward services. New measures have been adopted to deepen and spread its influence. After the great controversy ceased, that took place a quarter of a century ago, our portion of the religious community fell back upon the first and most general principles of Christian belief. The people had become tired of theological debates. Disputed points in divinity grew distasteful in our churches. Even expository discourses lost favor. The pulpit was devoted to practical topics and the largest views of religious truth. It set forth the wonders of design in the created world, and the strong and benignant laws of the Heavenly Providence. It dwelt upon the attributes of God; upon the mission of Christ as full of inspiration and authority; and upon the duties and hopes of mankind. It exhibited those spiritual facts in which the whole Church was united, and urged those motives which address the universal conscience; making mention perpetually of the sanctions that are binding on all, and of the grace that is offered to all; and inculcating specially among the Christian virtues those of mutual consideration, of candor, brotherly-kindness and charity. Personal religion was that which was the most

thought of; — at least that which was chiefly urged in the public ministration of the word; — personal religion, displayed in an upright, sober, friendly, useful life. It consisted in the faith, that, according to the Apostle's direction, was had to one's self in the sight of God, — apart from the conference of others in a great degree, and independent of all minute questions as to the interpretation of one or another doubtful point of holy writ. There was something noble, as well as composed, in this state of things. It nourished some of the most truly Christian minds that I ever knew, — that any one else ever knew. One might seem to be reasonably contented with it, so far as its principle went. But it no longer gives the same satisfaction as formerly. Its day, in the estimation of many, is declining. However clear, and tranquil, and salutary it may have been, it is suspected of not fully meeting the wants of our age. With how much reason I know not, but the fact is undeniable. The age is excited, inquisitive, doctrinal. New ways are sought. New claims are advanced. A change, partly of views and partly of measures, has affected quite extensively our churches. There are three of these urgencies particularly noticeable. They are for more movement, for more positive knowledge, and for more social alliance, more sympathy, concert and companionship.

The first of these calls is, — let us do something, before others and among others, to show that we are actively alive to the truth. By this it is not meant, — let us be more exercised in virtue, more diligent in charity and good works, more engaged with the lessons that lead to a devout and righteous life. It does not mean, that we should be more observant of those appointed ordinances of religion, which are so important in confirming and nourishing the sentiment of it within the mind; that we should keep the Sabbath holier, and frequent the sanctuary with a more constant foot and a more faithful purpose. It does not even mean, that we should have more of the missionary ardor, and be readier to spread abroad the privileges that we enjoy ourselves. It is rather intent upon increasing the outward means of exciting the religious affections. It would multiply devout services, and the opportunities of conferring together; and in this way stir up a greater

enthusiasm in the cause of Christ and the soul's redemption. An admirable object we may admit this to be. Who denies that we need a more vigorous spiritual life? I must say, however, that the charge of apathy that is now so commonly brought is often made with an undiscerning haste. It is unjust as well as discourteous. Still no one will say that there is not a great mass of indifference that needs to be quickened. No one ever maintained that any thing like our whole duty was fulfilled in this respect. But the question is, how is this defect, so far as it exists and wherever it really exists, to be best remedied. And this question, being one of methods and not of principles, is to be decided by a discriminating judgment, upon the ground of a sober Christian expediency. It is not to be left to vague impulses and the force of imitation. Shall we join in the slight of former usages, and strike out untried paths; or shall we use more worthily those means that have been hitherto accounted sufficient, and endeavor to make them more effectual? Shall we call upon ourselves, and each one for himself, to be truer to the duties that we all understand, and to the opportunities already afforded? Or shall we rather call for the co-operation of other persons, and feel dependent upon numbers and plans and Conventions; and resort to arrangements and schemes of influence that we have never known before, as if therein lay our safety? These are serious interrogations. We should ponder them well before we reply. Religion does not consist either in fervors or devices. There may be too heated a fancy as well as too cold an apprehension, and zeal may outrun knowledge. There is always the danger of estimating too highly the external help that we take to lean on; especially when we adopt it as an instrument for moving other people. The instrument gets to win the honors of the work which it only seems to perform, and the sign steals into the place of the thing that should be signified. To be merely in motion, without knowing why or whither, is not one of the most promising indications of life.

The second of these calls is for more positive knowledge, — more minute information as to obscure portions of the Scriptures, and points of difference among Christians. This is certainly a worthy direction to give, for those who

are so disposed, to the curiosity of the mind. But it may easily be overrated, and the fashion of our time is to overrate it, in many quarters. We shall commit a grave error, if we suppose that either the Christian character or faith is dependent upon it, or to any considerable extent connected with it. The great truths of the Bible, clear in themselves, are constantly illustrated and applied in the most common instructions of the Lord's day and house. It is these truths that are to be reflected on, and acted on. And they are enough to direct all who humbly seek to be guided; enough to expand more and more the conceptions of the noblest understandings, as long as they continue to think. It is these, and not such questions as are discussed by the speculatist, pored over by the student, battled over by the disputer, that make men "wise to salvation." The objects of religion are not to be apprehended like the things of common life. By their very nature they are vast and indeterminate. It is not intended that we should seize them otherwise than in a large way. We should not insist upon too much, and upon knowing more than we can know. We should not inquire too narrowly. We see but by reflexions, indistinctly. So said an Apostle.* Our vision cannot be expected to be brighter than his. An article of belief is not to be read like an account of what happened yesterday. It cannot be so read; that is, with such precision. It refuses to be so read; that is, with such an examining temper. Its spirit will escape while we are scrutinizing its letters. Let us teach men to acknowledge their limits. Say to them: "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto you and to your children forever." There are things into the depths of which angels desire to look. What could you gain by attempting to look? What are metaphysics to the plain-hearted believer? What are doubtful sentences in Hebrew or Greek? What is any thing, that does not contribute to some practical benefit; either to improve your characters or animate your hope? Will any lecture, or number of lectures, initiate you into the science of a holy life? Will it teach you of things that can be only spiritually discerned; or of those

* 1 Corinthians, xiii, 12.

that are beyond all our discerning? Will any research, of your own or others, tell you of the hidden counsels of Heaven; or of the state of the disembodied spirit, concerning which the Scripture is ambiguous, and mortal experience impossible, and the human understanding utterly dumb?

Another want, loudly professed to be felt, is that of more fellowship and personal acquaintance; that the social element should be introduced more largely into the church. Now, we know that the kindest good-will is the law of the Gospel. To bring men together into brotherhood was one of the appointed ends of the Savior's mission. "That they may be one," he said, "as we are one." We perceive also constantly how much is accomplished by associated feeling and action. Association is one of the chosen instruments for promoting all kinds of valuable objects at the present day. And who can deny the benefits that are to be found, in the intercourse of minds united towards one purpose, and in mutual offices of instruction and encouragement? If there is anything really lacking in this respect, — whether as regards the disposition or the deed — sympathy on one hand or endeavor on the other, — the deficiency should be made up; and each religious guide must judge for himself in what manner the remedy should be applied. No one should be so attached to the customs he prefers, as to be disinclined to go forward in any true progress. Only a wise care should be taken, not to mistake names for substances, or the practice of others for a necessity of our own, or a new step for a sure advancement; and not to ascribe too much importance to temporary expedients. Religion is social in this, that it inspires benevolent affections, and draws all together, as children of the same Providence, into a community of services. And when it brings men from time to time into one place for a united worship, it offers them the privileges of an institution that is full of beautiful meaning, and most helpful in nourishing the temper of Christian devotion and resolve within each heart. But it does not follow from this, that the religious sentiment is in every respect a social one, or that its ends are always best answered through social methods. In one view of it, and that the profoundest, it is a personal principle, actuating the solitary breast. It is of a

reserved, humble, retiring nature. Like other sentiments that lie deep in man, it is not ambitious to display itself or to court the gaze of multitudes. It is delicate in its sensibility, and desires to be seen but in practical effects and to be silently accepted of God. I am not sure that it loves any great discoursing to and fro, or prefers much intercommunication of sacred services. Our Master was wont to go into the synagogues on the Sabbath day. But when he taught his disciples how to pray, the closet was to be the oratory, and the supplicating heart the chief form of speech. With what extreme simplicity was the prayer that he dictated expressed! He "went apart" to offer his own devotions; sometimes to a mountain, sometimes into the wilderness, and sometimes withdrawing but "about a stone's cast." But we nowhere read of his calling them around him for such a purpose. I would not press unduly considerations of this kind. But they are certainly very far from recommending a class of measures, which is now finding increased favor; — such as concerts for prayer, and meetings expressly held with a view of stimulating the religious sensibility. I am not sure that the idea of social worship would be more perfectly realized, or its objects more satisfactorily attained, by establishing any new relations of intimacy between fellow-worshippers. That relation alone speaks for itself, and is sufficiently significant. We choose our acquaintances according to the laws of other attraction. I would not be curious, when I go to church, to ask who is my neighbor? Enough that we are drawn together by what we hope to be a common spirit, as brethren of the same dependent race, to adore the same Almighty Father, and to inquire in the same temple.

But it is time to leave these hints as they lie. Whatever your judgments and courses may be, my brothers, in reference to them, — and they will doubtless be various, according to the individual tastes and social circumstances of every one, — let us strive at least to gain fresh impulses of activity and accessions of strength in that movement, which is of the heart, upward; in that knowledge, which, like charity, edifieth; and in that fellowship, which knows no theological or ecclesiastical lines, but is with all those whom we are called on to love, and enabled to befriend. We come now to look more directly at some of those tenden-

cies in our religious condition, which deserve our cautious attention, as dangerous — some of them at least — to the cause both of truth and peace.

The first that strikes me as worthy of such notice is that which aims at a greater independence of outward institutions, a greater independence of sacred traditions, of the whole golden bequest to us from the past, and of every thing that is called authority, than had ever before been claimed within the domain of a Christian profession. This may be named the latitudinarian movement. And it takes two turns. The first of these is straight-forward, fatally straight; — away from early lessons and an implicit belief; away from an historical faith; away from the dominion of former ideas and the associations that were hallowed of old. Some may have been carried astray so far in this direction, as to reject the supposition of anything preternatural in the religion that they profess; to deny the verity of the Gospel record, and to fabricate a Christianity of their own, apart from the Christ of the Bible. Sometimes by a covert implication, and sometimes openly, they have presumed to set aside the original testimony, and sought to arrive at a better law than the old word of the Lord. I should fear to undertake to judge such, except by the protestation of a different opinion, and that too with a sober humility, for they may be as good men as their accusers. But it is gratifying to believe that they are a very small number among the disciples; and they certainly have had but very indifferent success in an undertaking, that by no ingenuity can succeed. Even that small number, which was able to startle at first by the apparition of novelty, is visibly, if I have looked aright, becoming less. How could they think to put asunder what God has joined together, — the power of his truth and the revelation of his Son? In vain would the New Platonism, or a mystic or pantheistic philosophy resembling it, that attacked the Gospel in the early centuries, pretend to be the Gospel in the nineteenth. It was defeated as an enemy. It is unmasked as an impostor.

I beg you to mark, that I distinguish between the individual and his opinion. One may be virtuous and devout, and yet come within no definition of a Christian belief that I am able to construct. What is the Christianity that turns all the most wondrous of its narratives into legends or

myths? None of you, I think, can have forgotten the discourse of the accomplished scholar* who addressed you on this occasion, and from this spot five years ago. Are there not fewer now than there were then, who would take exceptions to what was then spoken with such an earnest and affecting simplicity, and so deep an insight? But two days ago I saw the book of an English traveller in this country, which has scarcely yet had a chance of coming into any notice, in which our liberal religious opinions were confounded with the extravagances of a foreign infidelity. I thank God, if that accusation is deprived of the little justice that it could ever have had. I am grateful while I believe, that the sour immaturity of German speculation, distilled through French alembics, is already grown vapid to a genuine New England taste. I rejoice to feel sure, that the gaseous smoke of that pretension has mixed long enough already with our wholesome air to lose much of its intoxication.

The second turn of this movement is upward, — into the vast and void air of a mystical divinity. This kind of speculation sets at naught, as the other did, the lessons of a transmitted instruction. It is discontented with all the methods that have been sanctioned by ancient experience. It would rise at once into communion with heavenly realities, without the aid of any of the usual appointments. We may grant, — for the concession may sometimes be no more than the truth, — that its conceptions are pure, that its spirit is fervid like the seraphim, and that its aspiration is towards a transcendent glory. But it relies too much on its own intuitions and impulses. It forgets how much we are children as yet, and "lower than the angels," and under the tutelage of a slowly educating Providence. It does not see how presumptuous it is. It is not probably aware how near it may be to repeating the formulas of a Pagan piety, in forsaking those of the Redeemer's church; and re-producing a dazzling inefficiency of the world's less favored time, as if it were indeed some new power of God. It sets at naught what is of more value than it has ever yet estimated, when it despises the common means of a sober religious culture, when it exalts itself above ordinances,

* Mr. Norton.

when it is carried away from the meek propriety of the heart's lowly worship by a few glowing phrases or visionary abstractions. It has arrived at only an imaginary elevation at a melancholy cost. It has transcended what is rational, without coming any nearer to what is Divine. It has deserted a steady guide for a flattering deception. I will not withhold my respect for whatever in it is truly aspiring; but neither can I withhold the expressions of uneasiness and sorrow, that it should have occasioned so many extravagances as it has, and obtained influence over amiable and devout and well endowed minds.

Another movement that must have attracted your notice does not set forward, but back. It is fervid, but would retrace the ways of deserted ideas and practices, rather than advance upon the track so far pursued. It takes again upon its lips the language of dogmas long ago rejected. It takes again into its hands the instruments and modes of operation, that had not only been laid aside as having no righteous use, but objected to as unseemly or dangerous, as encouraging fanaticism, and averse from the quiet simplicity of a reasonable faith. It is learning to imitate the tones of an opposite creed, and to adopt the plans that were thought to have been wisely disapproved of. It has heard so much, that the calm and unostentatious piety which loves the privacy of retirement better than the crowded hall, and prefers its silent thoughts to forward conferences, and would rather show itself in dutiful deeds than wordy professions, — that this piety, I say, was little better than dead, — it has heard this so much, as at length to give credit to the allegation, and to bring against friends the charge that was nothing but the stratagem of the enemy. It is therefore eager to make demonstration, by various outward signs, how vigorously it is alive. It will now and then assert principles that have been the antique foundations of many an abuse; and these abuses may again return to be built thereon. It presents views of human corruption, and of the nature of its conversion to God, that appear to me to border rather upon the darkness that we have fled from, than to lie within the illuminated circles that we seek. It preaches up excitements. It aims at popular effects. It would be beheld among enthusiastic crowds. Let me repeat, that I would do no manner of in-

justice, and cast no shadow of aspersion, where I can feel no sympathy. I sit not in the seat of the censor, here or anywhere. Unquestionably, good is done through agencies that are the most manifold. The spiritual wants of men are various. And a religious motive, though we could be sure it was mistaken, ought not to pass without its share of respect. But wherever there appears to be an error, there may always be raised a voice of dissent, so it be one of good will. And it must be raised. Nor indeed is it possible always to maintain one's own position with due distinctness, and yet say nothing of the neighborly heights that are differently fortified.

The third movement that offers itself to be spoken of is one that strikes in with the several organizations of the day, philanthropic and moral. It lifts them into paramount importance, as if they were loftier than the hill of Zion and the pinnacles of God's holy temple. It runs along with the line of popular and even political passions. It is always one-sided, and often violent. It leaves the oracles of the Lord for the schemes of man, or hears those oracles chiefly among "the tumults of the people." It chooses its favorite themes among the heated and agitating topics that are exercising the public mind; and that, not to temper the fervor, but to heighten the flame; not to guide that restlessness, but to aggravate it into a convulsion. The Gospel, with its simple but vast truths, — the Gospel, with its gentle precepts and its heavenly temper, — comes to be regarded by it as a contracted field and as of a tame spirit, compared with the magnitude and the stir of some great social project or world's debate. So does it absorb and hurry away many, that they imagine the Christian faith to be concerned with nothing so much as with this or that system of associated action. The chief religious interests of their race are conceived to hang upon the success of the projects to which they are attached. As if the counsels of the Eternal Godhead were involved within the compass of their ruling conceit, or their transient enterprise. As if the hand of the Lord was "no bigger than a man's hand." One fancies that human society is to be remodelled by some fresh arrangements of its industrial power, and in this achievement consists for him the regeneration of the earth and the millennial glory. Another reverses the old super-

stition that the kingdom of heaven is meat and drink, and supposes that it must be found in the denial of them. Thus the good doctrine of abstinence is pressed with intemperate heat, and the coarsest misrepresentations, and an utter unscrupulousness. It is made to hinge upon an ascetic principle which the Scriptures no where countenance, till the example of the Divine Master is tacitly brought into reproach, and the table of his passion and holy memory is, as I regard it, openly affronted. Another takes up the doctrine of peace, carried to its extreme of absolute non-resistance, — for to extremes every subject has now the habit of being carried. If this monomaniac idea entirely fills the sphere of his moral vision, he will not at least have any violence to do to the letter of the Christian record, — like those mentioned before, — no violence to put upon that, whatever becomes of good sense, and the cause of the right, and the sentiments of manhood, and the fame of his fathers. And yet, the peace of a confiding heart, and the way to secure it, is a larger topic than that, if one could only think so; and the conflicts that are going on with time and fortune and rebellious thoughts and the soul's adversaries, are as inexhaustible for our contemplations as they are perpetual in their trials. Another man is in a fever of resentment against the sins and miseries of domestic slavery; and he must make his discourse as full of them as his heart is, and inveigh against them "in season and out of season." But the minister of the Gospel, who has a special work to do, and yet that special work distributed among all the departments of human life and the human soul, who must speak of an Infinite government and care in their thousand fold dispensations, and who must point towards an unearthly home and a citizenship above, should be circumspect if he is exposed to this peril. He should be prudent and wise-sighted, and of that temper which his religion declares to be of the most excellent price. He has enough to do, without running into the struggle of public animosities and implicating himself with political parties at least, if not with the worst factions in the state. He is poorly associated, if he is found ruffling with vain and violent men, who, with the wish of pulling down at once an odious institution, despise the feelings of brotherhood, and deride the horrors of all consequen-

ces, and would trample down in their way not only the laws of the land, but the prescriptions of Christ's own commonwealth. His good intentions may do mischief. His benevolent zeal may become a frenzy. He may be so busy with what is doing on the other side of the mountains, as to scatter the flock that he was set to feed. Nevertheless, I would studiously impress this upon my mind, that there is nothing mean, nothing entirely blameworthy, in any of the movements now animadverted on. It is only in their excesses that they are pernicious. They often originate from noble impulses. They contain a savor of truth. They are hallowed by whatever of liberality or genuine devotion is brought to their cause.

I come now, and in conclusion, to another form of religious activity, which is specially prominent in our time. It is the zeal for making proselytes. It prevails among all denominations; our own among the rest, if in a less degree. It takes its stand within a sect, and aims at a party ascendency. Its object is, not to establish general Christian motives, but a particular Christian belief; not to maintain good works, but what it assumes to be the right creed; not to "convert the sinner from the error of his way," but the good and bad alike from the supposed error of their opinion. It magnifies and multiplies differences, instead of searching out cords of sympathy and points of friendly contact. It separates itself, and grows schismatic. It vaunts itself, and grows ambitious to rule. It is apt to account its favorite enclosure as the whole of the true inheritance, and to feel as if the boundless air of God's spirit ended with its own visible horizon. Its language is dogmatical. Its tone is controversial. In this spirit, all the tribes of Christendom are on the alert; — not, as once, to extend the limits of Christendom, evangelizing Jew and Heathen; not even to reform the characters of those who are within Christian geography already; — but to enlarge each its peculiar dominion. This awakens the chief religious ardor of these days, — the arraying of one department of Christian confession against another. Comparatively little excitement is kindled in other directions. The disciple of Moses, the child of Abraham, — one is tempted to say, — may now rest almost as free from importunity, as he is from that cruel persecution which used to crush his fathers. We

scarcely hear of a Jew as a convert, except to make a figure at St. Peter's in Rome on Easter day, or to attract a small crowd around a baptizing bishop in one of our own cities. The Mussulman has become but a political person in the diplomacy of Europe. The millions of Hindostan are under the sceptre of "defenders of the faith," who think quite as much of its revenues as of its Paganism. The Fo of the Chinese Empire is forgotten in questions of its silks and its teas. The islands of Japan are relinquished, with the utmost unconcern, to the gloom of a Heathen night and the ferocity of barbarian manners. And the isle that spots the sea still farther eastward, and is the leading boast of modern missionary enterprise, is not only distracted by the feuds of conflicting theologians, but at this moment is lying under the guns of the rival navies of the elder continent.

Meanwhile, every sect is exceeding bold against its antagonist sect. The Romish Bishop, once so mighty through a superstition that we may hope is well-nigh broken, — he, whose style was, "servant of servants," while his state was a threefold crown, and whose fisherman's ring and ball of lead used to be the signet for the doom of kingdoms, — he, the imbecile prince of a blasted patrimony, who once thundered from that Vatican, from which he can now send nothing but malaria and a fog, — he, with the old guile, but a spent force, — with nothing abated of the former insolent presumption, and but little left of the former command, — he, whose temporalities are chiefly sustained by the curiosity of those strangers whose worship he thrusts without his walls, and whose souls he shuts out from his pale of salvation, — he, whose crossed sandal is scarcely noticed by the inquisitive traveller, though it used to be set upon the necks of kings; — this cripple of an ancient domination, has designs yet upon these realms of the westering sun, which he once usurped the right to give wholly away. On the opposite hand, we have heard a summons, of almost equal ambition and simplicity, from Protestant zealots, to carry the holy war back into Italy, and convince the purple cardinals of the Papal See of their departures from the truth. And between these two eager disputants, a third or middle one has sprung up; invoking out of the midst of independency and dissent the authority of the Church, and

anxious to restore something at least of the usages and faith of the mediæval days. Lutheran and Calvinist cannot worship together in our neighboring city, though they are fellow-countrymen in a foreign place. Though far from being very numerous, they ask separate aid from those who are ignorant of their language and of a different persuasion from them both. The Baptist and the Congregationalist, though divided but by a question of water, hold no joint communion. The Universalist and the Restorationist are further apart than if they had not once seemed so near together. The free expositions of liberal Christianity clash with the stern sentiments of the Puritan theology; and in both ranks the attachment to opinions becomes a strife for the victory; — happy, if it is not fiercely and unrighteously carried on.

These are but single examples of a tendency all but universal, on the one hand to divide and on the other to proselytize. The two may seem opposite to each other; but they are much alike, proceeding from the same dispositions of the mind. Every denomination, as it becomes large, severs; as it becomes strong, assails; as it attracts notice, strives to increase the number of its adherents. I do not complain of this state of things. I do not say that it could have been avoided. There must be doctrines to set forth, and there will be controversy. Opposition to the views that one holds dear will increase the earnestness, not only to vindicate, but to spread them; and we do owe a duty to the cause that we believe to be true. But herein lies one of the perils of our present position; and it is perhaps as threatening to our tranquil prosperity, as those disturbing forces that I have before described. We should be on our guard against a schismatic and partisan spirit. Are not differences devised and held forth without reason? And even where differences are real and most important, are they not often exhibited with a display, and pressed with a heated pertinacity, that belong rather to champions than disciples? I have feared that, in some cases, there was too much encouragement given to a hasty secession from the religious congregations in which one has been brought up, and to premature movements and declarations of independence. Does not the large and increasing number of feeble soceties indicate that it is indeed so? This is a deli-

cate subject, — a complicated one also, on which a great deal may be justly said on either part. But a single word of caution may be dropped, without presumption or the fear of giving offence. Let me say, then, the soul is always independent, — free to think, and declare its thought. But it is not necessary that it should dwell in any particular form of social organization, however agreeable and desirable that may be. It need not wait for an assembly of those who share the same convictions, before it can utter itself. It need not assume a polemical attitude. I know a little how hard it must be, to abide the rant of bigotry, the insolence of exclusiveness, and the sidelong looks of spiritual pride. But these have to be occasionally endured in all situations. It seems to me that the liberal spirit of truth will often accomplish more good by tacit and indirect means than by showy demonstrations; by remaining among the circumstances where Heaven has placed it, than by changing those relations for others that may appear more imposing. It may leaven with its knowledge and charity the mass in which it is lodged, with more advantage than if it assumed a more distinct existence, or combined itself differently. It may insensibly diffuse an influence, such as no figures of arithmetic can express and no sectarian statistics inclose, but which will be better than any mere numerical increase of converts even to the purest belief that was ever professed. We might say judiciously to many a separatist: Render the best service you can where you are till the full time comes. While you continue with former associates, your dispassionate judgment, your good temper and deeds, will exert their effects upon them. If you break from them, you part with that advantage. They then become hostile, and men do not easily accept the instructions of an adversary. Your own feelings may so take part in that hostility, that something may be lost, even to you, that is better than knowledge. Wait at least till you are able to maintain of yourself the ground that you take. Then proceed to maintain it. But with more or less of outward display, according to the means that God has put into your own power. Reflect that the whole Gospel of redemption is greater than your private understanding of it, or the understanding of it by any one else. Reflect, also, that your convictions are not of the kind that make the safety

of the soul dependent upon any speculative conclusions. That vulgar excuse for fanaticism and intolerance has no existence for you. You have put it far away. They who think that every one must "dwell with everlasting burnings" who does not believe as they do, are consistent when they denounce; are consistent when they persecute; are consistent if they lose sight of all merely human considerations in the breadth of such infinite consequences. They are not doing half enough in any respect; no, not the most untiring, the most impassioned of them. They are sluggish and untrue to their commissions of wrath. They should give themselves no peace, while a Pagan or a heretic can by any methods be redeemed. The ties of every ordinary inducement, and of dear nature itself, should snap off, like threads of flax, before the flame of that terrible malediction. Pardon them if they should be unreasonable. Pardon them if they are arbitrary and bitterly vehement. But who shall pardon us, if, with a faith that inculcates an opposite doctrine and breathes a different life, we should learn to take any position in that uncharitableness and zealotry, which it was our first step to disallow.

Let us say to all: Think less of your speculative peculiarities, and more of the Christian righteousness. Be willing even to accept the wisdom that lies hidden in an Eastern parable. And thus it runs: The Caliph summoned his wisest man to the steps of his throne, and demanded of him which of the four sects of Islam was in the right way to the Heavenly Presence. 'Commander of the faithful,' replied the sage, 'there is just that number of avenues, — just four, — leading to the throne on which you sit. You called me hither; I submitted to the guidance of him you sent; and now, dazzled with the glory I witness, I have already forgotten by which of the passages I arrived.'

Art. VIII.—NIAGARA.*

Tremendous torrent! wild thy waters rush,
And madly bound to gain the beetling verge;
The firm earth trembles as thy dark floods gush
Between the dizzy cliffs, and forward urge
Wave upon wave to meet the ocean's surge;
Sublimely beautiful, thy billows leap
Down the abyss whence ceaseless clouds emerge;
Awe-struck I stand, as darkly o'er the steep
The struggling waters roll: deep calleth unto deep!

Thou look'st eternal! But the time shall be
When thy swift waters shall be seen no more;
When God shall seal the fountains of the sea,
And hush the mighty thunders of thy roar;
Chaos may rend thine adamantine floor,
The heavens and earth be shrivelled as a scroll:
Then what art thou to *man*, whose mind will soar
Above the wreck of worlds, a living soul,
To press forever on while endless ages roll!

Niagara, June, 1844. R. C. W.

* We have sometimes thought that a faithful record of the impressions made upon visitors by the scene presented to them at Niagara, would afford pretty accurate evidence of the habits of mental and moral associations which they had severally formed. The shrewd calculator, who estimates everything by its practical value, sees only a vast water-power, and wonders 'how much machinery it would drive;' while Ole Bull hears the melodies of heaven as he passes beneath the sheet of water, and on his return converts the cataract into music. To the admirer of popular institutions the torrent discourses of freedom, and to a heart pervaded by religious faith it speaks of the greatness and glory of God. Even theological opinion would be found to color such a record as we have supposed. Our friend who has contributed these lines shows in them what are the trains of thought with which his mind is familiar. The most remarkable example we think we have ever known of the connexion between dogmatic belief and the imaginative faculty came under our eye recently in some lines published in a New York newspaper, and there said to have been written at Niagara, from which it appeared that the writer beheld in the sublime spectacle before him an image — of what, think you, reader? — of the "cataract of the Divine wrath" pouring over the guilty soul! Eds.

Art. IX. — CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES.*

Successive statements and explanations of the doctrinal opinions held by large bodies of professedly Christian believers, are for several reasons of great value. To those who admit the intervention of human authority exercised in matters of faith, through an ecclesiastical organization, a general summary of articles of belief, copied or re-printed merely to replace the wear of time or to supply successive generations, is all that is thought necessary; apologies, vindications and proofs of the doctrines maintained, are supposed to be not only useless but of dangerous tendency. Thus we find that the Roman Church very seldom sends forth explanations and scriptural vindications of its doctrines. We believe that scarce one such treatise can be found on our book-catalogues for each generation of men since the Roman Church has had an existence. The few treatises of that character which it has produced have been mainly called out by controversy and in self-defence.

Protestantism, on the contrary, in its various forms, is perpetually reconsidering its grounds, and presenting the proofs of the doctrinal formularies held in its different Communions. Even the Friends, or Quakers, have sent forth publications of this nature, fully proportioned to their numbers. The English Church abounds with such works. But Calvinism has produced whole libraries of volumes filled with statements, proofs, qualifications, extenuations, and reviews of its own doctrines. These all have, as we have said, for several reasons, a great value. They mark, more distinctly than any other class of intellectual works, the stages of progress in human thought in the places where they are produced, and they mark those stages accurately. They furnish an index which shows how each original attainment of successive generations affects the sum of inherited and established opinion. They show the reluctance of men to part from what they have ignorantly revered or believed, and they exhibit the struggles which endeavor to reconcile a cherished faith, supposed to be es-

* *The Christian Doctrines.* By Rev. Hubbard Winslow, of Boston, Author of "Young Man's Aid," etc. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1844. 12mo. pp. 360.

sential to salvation, with the irrepressible doubts which have enfeebled it. A chronological arrangement of the treatises on Calvinistic doctrines which have appeared in New England alone, since its colonization, would furnish sufficient materials for a Philosophy of the Human Mind. Beginning with the bald and literal exhibitions of Calvinism which were made by the preachers of the second generation in New England, — those bitter pills which it was thought would lose all their efficacy if sugared in the least, and which required as the great condition of a true believer that he should not show by face or muscle how bitter they were, — we are led through a long succession of treatises down to the very book before us. Who that knows their multitude and their contents, does not know that they contain the history of the human mind in these parts of the world? Before our eyes those multiplied volumes range themselves under the form of a long flight of steps, each phase in opinion, each qualification of a doctrine, each trimming and shaping of one of the 'five points' of Calvinism, making a new step. We leave it to our Calvinistic brethren to decide whether this flight of steps, of their own construction, ascends or descends, whether a qualification of doctrine demanded by Scripture and reason is a flight towards the air, or an approach to a stable foothold on earth. They are fond, however, of representing Unitarianism as a *downward* course; and as modifications of Calvinism here produced Unitarianism, we suppose we must say that their successive treatises indicate a descent.

Mr. Winslow's treatise, like the multitude of treatises which have chronologically preceded it, seems to have been written after the faithful study of the works of his brethren before him, accompanied with a cautious anxiety as to how far he needed to qualify their statements. We must admit, however, that his views bear as little of the character of a modification of true Calvinism, as could possibly be reconciled with his good scholarship, and made consistent with the present position of theology. We have formed a very high opinion of his sincerity and his talents from perusing his book. We have learned from it a respect and a regard for him as an earnest believer, a faithful preacher of what he believes to be scriptural truth, and a powerful advocate of opinions from which we dissent. He writes in an ex-

cellent spirit, without denunciation or dogmatism. Passages of affectionate appeal and of great beauty are interspersed in his volume, and relieve, — we cannot say, recommend — his doctrines. It is but very seldom that the grim spirit and the conjuring imagination of old Calvinism exhibit themselves in his pages. The following sentence, however, is an instance: — "And even if a single soul that has been washed in atoning blood, and given in covenant to Christ, should be plucked from the Father's hand, there would be cause of everlasting distrust and sadness in heaven, and hell's heavy note of monotonous despair would be relieved by a horrid yell of malicious gladness." The Saviour has told us that there is joy in heaven over a repenting sinner, but Mr. Winslow, we believe, draws on his imagination for the reverse of the picture.

The volume contains twenty-two chapters or lectures, the titles of which are: The Existence, the Natural, and the Moral Attributes of God, the Creation and Powers of Man, Depravity, Nature and Proof of Atonement, Election, the Nature and the Author of Regeneration, Justification, Adoption, Perseverance, Intermediate State, Resurrection, Proof and Facts of the Judgment, Reward of the Religious and of the Wicked, System of Doctrines, Proof of the System, and Conclusion.

In comparing Mr. Winslow's treatise with that in support of Unitarian views lately written by Rev. A. P. Peabody, we have been led to imagine what effect their candid perusal would have upon an intelligent and serious person who was familiar with the Bible, and had never been taught any system of doctrines which another person had drawn from it. We think we decide fairly when we say, that such a person, after perusing both works carefully, would be somewhat bewildered. Mr. Peabody's views we believe to be absolutely unanswerable, clearly stated, scriptural, consistent and true. Mr. Winslow's views we admit to be stated with power, with an ingenious collation of scriptural passages, and likewise with consistency; but so far as they essentially differ from those of Mr. Peabody, we are satisfied that they depart from the plain teachings of Scripture. Now how will an unbiassed reader decide between them? We think, — is it not with fairness? — that he would turn from the two books, and say that the correctness of the

views presented in the one or the other depended upon certain general views of Scripture, such as the meaning and the force of Scripture language, the connection between the Old Testament and the New, and the extent and significance of inspiration. Let us briefly illustrate this point.

Suppose that the Scriptures consisted entirely of the passages which Mr. Winslow has quoted, and that he had quoted the whole of them under one or another doctrine, that he had made use of the whole Bible without omitting a sentence, and that the texts which he has classified in the book before us exhausted the whole sacred record. Then we should say that the Bible somewhat countenanced and supported Calvinistic doctrines, and that Mr. Winslow had made a very ingenious arrangement of its contents under different doctrinal titles. There, for instance, is his chapter on the "Proof of the Atonement." He wishes to show that the Calvinistic doctrine does not depend merely upon a few isolated passages of the New Testament which are susceptible of some other interpretation, but that the burden of the Bible is that no soul ever was or ever will be saved but by the atoning blood of Christ, and that this fact entered into the religion of Adam after the Fall, the religion of the Patriarchs, the religion of Moses and the Prophets, the religion of John the Baptist, the religion of Jesus Christ, the religion of the Apostles, and enters likewise into the religion of the millennium and of heaven. We are supposing now that the passages quoted by Mr. Winslow as bearing upon the way in which a sinner is reconciled to God, comprehend all in the Scriptures which relates to that doctrine. The scriptural proof of his several positions or specifications is as follows: the scheme of Atonement in Adam's religion was expressed by the promise of enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, and by the fact that Abel's offering was accepted above Cain's, because the former was of blood, and the latter only of fruit; the scheme was implied in the Patriarchs' religion, by the command to Abraham to sacrifice his son; the scheme was implied in the religion of Moses and the Prophets, by the requisition of sin-offerings of living creatures, of cattle of the herd and the flock, and in the prophetical representations of Jesus as a victim; the scheme was implied in the

religion of John the Baptist, by his exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"; the scheme was implied in the religion of Jesus Christ, because he said it was needful for him to suffer, that he might enter into his glory; the scheme was implied in the religion of the Apostles, by their reference to the blood of Christ; finally the scheme is implied in the religion of the millennium and of heaven, by the ascriptions of glory to the Lamb that was slain.

Supposing that under this classification the few passages quoted by Mr. Winslow were all that the Bible contained bearing on the subject of the Atonement, our first course would be to inquire if he had not linked these passages together by an imaginary chain, and if he had not misinterpreted their specific and their general meaning. And we should be satisfied that he had. For that imaginary chain of his has been constructed by the torturing ingenuity of system-making for the last three centuries, nor do these passages all together make a single reference to the, supposed, prospective or real fact that Jesus Christ was offered as a propitiatory, a vicarious, or substituted blood-victim, in place personally of the sinner. We should then make answer severally to the specifications of passages under each head of his argument, and say the passages were misinterpreted. As to Adam's religion, the promise that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent means, that one born of woman should trample all iniquity under feet; nor is it anywhere said in the Scriptures, that Abel's sacrifice was more acceptable than Cain's because it was of blood; it might, for anything that appears to the contrary, have owed its excellence to the disposition and intention of the offerer. As to the Patriarchs' religion, the command to Abraham to sacrifice his son bears on the face of it the evidence that the design was simply to try his faith, to prove whether he would still believe in a promise of God in reference to his descendants, when the son through whom alone that promise could be fulfilled was desired as an offering. There is not the slightest reference in the narrative to an atonement or propitiation for sin. As to the religion of Moses, the appointed offerings under the law embraced all the forms of property, from the half-shekel of money to the first fruit of a tree, and of course included animals.

As to the religion of the Prophets, it does indeed refer to Jesus as a sacrifice, but a sacrifice to man, not to God. As to the religion of John the Baptist, it does refer to the innocent child of God, but it refers to him as one who took away, not the punishment of the world, as the text should read to support the Calvinistic hypothesis, but the sin of the world, thus confirming the Unitarian view of Atonement. As to the religion of Jesus himself, his occasional references to his death always connect it with an effect to be produced on the hearts of men by his willing sufferings for their good. It is remarkable, that from the lips of the victim himself not a single word can be quoted favoring the Calvinistic hypothesis. As to the religion of the Apostles, their references to the blood of Christ are generally like his own references to his death; sometimes they are connected with Jewish technical phraseology, sometimes they appeal to Gentiles as brought near to God, that is, ceasing to be aliens from the promise, by the death of Jesus, which closed the old peculiar and exclusive dispensation. The Apostles, however, never once refer to Jesus as having taken suffering from us in any other way than by taking sin from us. As to the religion of the millennium and of heaven, the references to the death of Christ in the Apocalypse are of like character to those in the Epistles.

After these specific replies to the passages adduced by Mr. Winslow, which essentially change their relation to each other, their individual meaning and their general design, we should proceed to ask if the Bible contained no other passages bearing on the doctrine beside those he had quoted. And here would come arguments which he could not set aside, founded upon passages whose existence in the Bible he has not recognised. If Abraham was called to sacrifice his son in order to show that a blood-victim was a necessary "atonement" for human sin, how did it happen that the Heathen who made *bona fide* offerings of their children every day were not accepted, but on the contrary, were condemned and held up to scorn for it, and were forbidden all intercourse and intermarriage with the Jews. Certainly here is a marvellous difficulty; — a sacrifice demanded of one, while the painful homage was scorned in another. Again, what shall we say of all those passages which declare that offerings of any kind and of all kinds

were allowed and tolerated only as helps in the religious education of a blind people, and that the regulations concerning them were designed only to introduce some order and method in services which would still have been performed, but in disorder? And what shall we say of those numerous and sublime passages which continually cried out in the ears of those who were laden with their offerings, that the homage of the heart was far better, — "I will have mercy and not sacrifice." Finally, what shall we say of those passages, the burden of the New Testament, which declare that the reconciliation of the sinner to God is won by the use of the means which Christ has provided for us, and that remission of sins is gained only by repentance of sins?

The simple truth is, that the Calvinistic interpreter recognises only a portion of the contents of the Bible, and the love of a theory which shall serve as a chain to connect passages torn from their original connection leads him insensibly to pervert those passages. Our Orthodox brethren are so fond of lingering upon what they call, and upon what Mr. Winslow in the trite phraseology of his sect calls, "the more distinctive and peculiar themes of the Gospel," that they in fact *make* this distinctiveness and peculiarity of their own doctrines, forgetting the harmony of God's truths and the *most* distinctive and peculiar doctrines of the Gospel.

We should be perfectly willing that an intelligent, a serious and an unbiassed person should pursue the course we have indicated after reading Mr. Winslow's and Mr. Peabody's treatises. We have no fears for the result.

There is nothing peculiar or original in Mr. Winslow's exhibition of the Calvinistic doctrine of Depravity; for in spite of his ingenuity he cannot avoid teaching that most dangerous theory, that we are no more to be blamed for our sin than for the color of our hair. His theory of depravity begins with, and all depends upon, an obscure passage in the Epistle of St. Jude, which mentions "the angels who kept not their first estate," and who were guilty of the first transgression ages before men lived on the earth. Yet their malicious agency, although entirely excluded from heaven, "found its way to our earth." If Mr. Winslow will allow the correction, we would remind

him that this was impossible, for St. Jude says these angels were "reserved in chains under darkness," and we take it that their prison was not in nor under Eden. If God, however, intended to confine these fallen angels, according to Mr. Winslow he must have failed of his purpose, for they "found their way" to Eden, and tempted our first parents. What a view to present of the God whom Christ revealed! The true Scriptural theory is the only rational theory on this subject. Adam's fall proves only his liability to be tempted, and shows him to have been in the same state by nature as we are. If his fall can be accounted for without supposing an original taint in him, why cannot our own sin be accounted for without such a supposition?

Mr. Winslow says that human depravity is "in some sense innate," that it is "wholly moral," not constitutional or physical, as if in the blood, in which case we should be exonerated from blame, that "it is universal," that "it is total," and that "it is by human means invincible." We add that if it be all these, it is chargeable either to remissness on the part of God, or to native incapacity of resistance on the part of man.

If we can understand Mr. Winslow's views of Regeneration, he maintains that only half, and that the poorer half of a human being, is born when he comes into this world. He says that all promptings to holiness come from God through his Spirit. From what source do the rest, the earlier of man's faculties come? If Mr. Winslow's chapter on regeneration teaches any doctrine, we fear that we must define it as downright fatalism. When discussing the nature of atonement, he says, that, "Even if mankind had the disposition to return to God, the offended law had demands which they never could satisfy." What is this but to charge God with giving us the task which Pharaoh gave to the Israelites, the task of making bricks without straw?

There are a few passages in Mr. Winslow's volume which are not creditable to his scholarship. Speaking of the Atonement he says: "It will stretch forward into the unexplored ages of eternity, and awaken in the cause of holiness new and everlasting songs in heaven. 'That in *the ages to come*, he might show the exceeding riches of

his grace in his kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus.' The atonement is therefore now, and to all eternity will remain, a full moral equivalent for the penalty due to sinners." The author here implies that the phrase, "the ages to come," is a prophetic reference to the eternal value of the Atonement. Is it possible that he does not know that the phrase means only, the age of the Christian dispensation on earth?

Mr. Winslow says, "It is a popular modern theory, that the atonement of Christ is a mere reconcilement." Why that word *mere*, except to forestall discredit to the theory? And is not the theory Paul's theory? Does he not use the very word? Will Mr. Winslow, as a scholar, assert that the scriptural word translated "atonement" means any thing more than *merely* the bringing at one, or reconciling, two parties? Mr. Winslow indeed causes his own theory to totter by the following allowance, which is unaccountable with his views, and belongs to our own. Combatting the notion of some who have represented "the atonement a *financial* transaction, so much suffering due and paid, for so much sin," he says:

"Christ has purchased for us no such right — no such demand on God God is under no more obligation to us now than he would have been if Christ had not died. Others have thought that there was a literal *transfer* of our sins to Christ, in such a sense that the Father actually regarded him as guilty, and as such punished him. This is their understanding of the Scripture, 'He hath laid on him the *iniquity* of us all.' But this is a Hebraistic mode of expression, and not uncommon in all languages, in which the cause is put for the effect. The meaning is, it pleased the Father that Christ should *suffer* for [on account of, or by reason of] *our sins*. The idea of a *literal* transfer of our sins to Christ, and of his righteousness to us, so that he becomes guilty and we deserving, it utterly inadmissible. There is — there can be — no such barter in the Divine government." — p. 108.

So says Mr. Winslow, and so say we. We again repeat our expressions of commendation of the spirit and tone of this volume as a Calvinistic treatise. The concluding chapter is beautiful and affecting. Let him who reads the book, read the whole of that greater Book on which it is professedly founded. G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Literary Remains of the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D. Second President of Brown University, R. I.; late President of Union College, N. Y.; and of the South Carolina College, S. C. With a Memoir of his Life. By Romeo Elton, D. D. etc., late Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature in Brown University. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 452.

Professor Elton has done a good work in editing this volume. The memory of President Maxcy seems held in great veneration by all who passed under his instruction, either in the pulpit or the College; and his "Literary Remains" here collected go far to justify it. Besides the brief memoir of his editor, which is too brief for our desires, seeing that it gives us but glimpses of the character of one so deserving, and is withal written in a candid and catholic temper, we have specimens of Dr. Maxcy's sermons, chiefly occasional, addresses to the graduating classes of the Colleges over which he presided, three orations, and a lecture introductory to a rhetorical course in the College of South Carolina. We are not sorry to find also, in the volume, biographical notices of Dr. Manning the immediate predecessor, and of Dr. Messer the immediate successor, of Dr. Maxcy in the Presidency of Brown University; of the late Chief Justice Eddy, his classmate and intimate friend, and for thirty-four years one of the Board of Fellows of that University; and of the late Hon. Virgil Maxcy, one of the victims of the terrible catastrophe on board the Princeton in February last. Several of President Messer's addresses, also, are placed in an Appendix.

Brown University, although properly regarded as a Baptist institution, securing as it does by the terms of its Charter a predominant influence to that denomination, and deriving the principal amount of its funds from its bounty, has been fortunate, from Dr. Manning its first President to the present distinguished incumbent of that office,* in having men, not only of rich culture and scholarship, but of a remarkably enlarged and liberal spirit. The volume before us bears ample proofs of all this in the character of Dr. Maxcy. He became the Pastor of the first Baptist church in Providence, R. I., in Sept., 1791, being appointed on the day of his ordination Professor of Divinity and a Trustee

* Rev. Dr. Wayland.

of what was then called Rhode Island College. He was then just twenty-three years of age, and appears to have at once secured a high reputation as a preacher. In exactly one year afterwards, young as he was, he was called to the Presidency of the College, which he held till 1802. He then became President of Union College, and in 1804 was transferred to the Presidency of the South Carolina College, then just established. In that office he died in June, 1820, aged fifty-two years. Harvard University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1801, when he was only thirty-three years of age.

Professor Elton tells us that "as a pulpit orator, Dr. Maxcy, during his Presidency of Brown University, was powerful and fascinating, and whenever he preached, the place of worship was crowded." And we have often heard the same testimony from his contemporaries, in that city where he was so well known and so highly esteemed. A sermon delivered by him in 1795, on the existence and attributes of God, hardly seems to us to justify the very high encomiums of his editor; nor can we give equal praise with him to the discourses on the Atonement. His views of the atonement were "in unison with those of President Edwards;" and though expressed plainly and emphatically, were held by him, as were all his religious views, in a spirit of true Christian charity. A practical proof of this was his intimate and uninterrupted friendship with Judge Eddy, commenced in College and continued to the end of life; and it breathes throughout his writings. Professor Elton well says: "Dr. Maxcy possessed that catholic spirit which resulted from deep piety and high mental endowments, and he could not substitute the shibboleth of a party in the place of love to God, and the practical exhibition of the Christian virtues. His great and noble soul was incapable of contracting itself into the littleness of bigotry." Dr. Elton is well disposed, as we are happy to testify from personal knowledge, to mark and to sympathize with these traits in the subject of his eulogy.

Dr. Maxcy delivered in 1791 a sermon on the death of Dr. Manning, which does not appear to have been printed till 1796. Some of his views in this sermon upon the connexion of Christ's sufferings with the subject of natural death, he holding "that natural death only was included in the punishment denounced against Adam," and hence that "it is evident that Christ abolished the same death that Adam incurred," subjected him to "no small degree of displeasure," as he himself tells us in the preface. In that preface he thus manifests his own genuine charity: —

"The only thing really essential to Christian union is love, or benevolent affection. It is therefore, with me, a fixed principle to censure no man, except for immorality. A diversity of religious

opinions, in a state so imperfect, obscure and sinful, as the present, is to be expected. An entire coincidence in sentiment, even in important doctrines, is by no means essential to Christian society, or the attainment of eternal felicity. How many are there who appear to have been subjects of regeneration, who have scarcely an entire, comprehensive view of one doctrine in the Bible! Will the gates of Paradise be barred against these, because they did not possess the penetrating sagacity of an Edwards, or Hopkins? Or shall these great theological champions engross heaven, and shout hallelujahs from its walls, while a Priestley, a Price, or a Winchester, merely for difference in opinion, though pre-eminent in virtue, must sink into the region of darkness and pain? I cannot induce myself to repose so small a share of confidence in the mercy of God, as to imagine he will not pardon all the sincere errors of his creatures."

We could extract passages from the sermons and orations contained in this volume, of remarkable beauty and eloquence. The oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1799, at Providence, at a moment when the country was threatened with a war with France, must have had a thrilling effect, and closes with a most stirring appeal to the patriotic and pious principles of his audience. But we take peculiar pleasure in noticing, besides the sterling merit of these "Remains" in a literary, and especially a rhetorical point of view, the liberal and catholic spirit which pervades them. We rejoice in every example of this which the ranks of another theology than ours can furnish. We delight in every additional proof given to the world, that the Christian heart may beat within the bosoms of disciples of every name, prompting to the same generous, all-embracing love, amid even great diversities of denominational faith. The division of the Church to which Dr. Maxcy belonged, and the several literary institutions over which he so ably at different times presided, may well be grateful for, and proud of, his fame. F.

Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. etc. Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh. New York. 1843. 8vo. pp. 520.

These Lectures are, as the author tells us, "a part of his ordinary pulpit exercises, now given without change or improvement to the world." As might be expected, they are marked by all the peculiarities of style of their distinguished author. Not having been revised, however, they are perhaps more remarkable for wordiness, and endless repetition of the same thought in varied language, than any of his previous works. Considered as an exposition of the sentiments of St. Paul, the book has no value. It is rather a collection of sermons with passages from the Epistle to the Romans as texts, than a critical exposition of the language of the Apostle. All the thoughts of

St. Paul are presented to the author in the light of the Scotch Confession of Faith, and hence we have old-fashioned orthodoxy set before us in all its deformity. The imputed guilt of Adam, and the imputed righteousness of Christ, doctrines which have so long been discarded by the Orthodox in New England, are here insisted on as in the highest degree essential, and insisted upon with tiresome repetition throughout the Lectures. "We are sinners in virtue of one man's disobedience, independently of our own personal sins; and we are righteous in virtue of another's obedience, independently of our own personal qualifications." "It is a singular dealing in God, that he should rate me for another's sin, and evinces his ways to be not as men's ways; but I will not complain of it, as I have a most secure and honorable refuge in another dealing of God's, equally singular, even that he should reward me for another's obedience." Thus, in Chalmers's view, is one apparent absurdity compensated by another. All the peculiarities of Calvinism are set forth with a plainness, with which they ought always to be exhibited, if they are true. No veil is drawn over the harsher parts of the system. No ambiguous language is used. Nothing is thrown into the back-ground. The difference between Dr. Chalmers's orthodoxy and the late New England orthodoxy is quite striking.

As these Lectures were a part of Dr. Chalmers's pulpit exercises, he occasionally relieves the dryness and darkness of his theology by passages of practical interest, not destitute of beauty. If it were our practice to give extracts in our Notices of works, we might quote, in illustration of this remark, two passages, relating to infants, for the singular contrast which they present to each other. In the former passage Dr. Chalmers speaks as a theologian; in the latter, as a man. They are not the only examples of the kind which the book affords. N.

A Selection from the Writings of Henry R. Cleveland. With a Memoir, by GEORGE S. HILLARD. Printed for private distribution. 1844. pp. li. and 384. 12mo.

AFTER reading this delightful volume we understand the feeling which more than one of Mr. Cleveland's intimate friends have expressed; a feeling of mingled gratification and surprise, at the versatility, richness, and maturity of his powers. His varied attainments, his refined tastes, his pure and pleasant writing, and yet more, his warm affections, his tender and true friendships, his social charm and moral excellence, his Christian integrity and lofty aims, made his short life one of unusual power as well as promise. Its power would be greater, if the book we are noticing could be more widely circulated. No one

could read it without profit. The Memoir by Mr. Hillard is so well written, so judicious in its encomium, and presents the excellent traits of his friend's character so justly and attractively, and the selections which follow sustain so entirely all that has been said or intimated, that the volume is, in our estimation, one of the most valuable of the kind. We seriously regret its being only "printed for private distribution." We hope there may be another edition, if it contain only the Memoir and a part of the selections, to make a moderate volume suited to social libraries and common use.

Henry R. Cleveland was born in Lancaster, 1808, graduated at Cambridge in 1827, and immediately engaged with two classmates in conducting a high school in the interior of New York. Driven thence by sickness, he passed a winter in Cuba, and thence sailed for Europe. Residing in Paris one year, engaged in study, and connected with the American Legation as private Secretary to Mr. Rives, he travelled through Switzerland and Italy, returned to Paris to study another winter, and came home in 1833, improved in health, and with accumulated stores of knowledge. For some time after he was a resident in Cambridge, giving himself chiefly to the improvement of his own mind. He next opened a classical school in Boston, where he remained until his marriage in 1838. He then passed three or four years in the quiet retirement of a beautiful spot in Roxbury, enjoying comparative health, and tasting the highest social and intellectual pleasures. In 1842 his health again failed, and again he sought the mild skies of the tropics, was apparently benefited, and set out in the following spring for home, by the way of New Orleans. But insidious disease had crept on, and now arrested his progress at St. Louis, where he died, June 12, 1843.

Thus brief and uneventful was the life of Cleveland. What could it have accomplished? Why should it be written? It accomplished much, for it was filled with diligent devotion to a high culture. He was a scholar. He loved study for its own sake, and made himself a proficient in many departments of learning and the arts. He was a warm and true friend, quiet, unobtrusive, tender, cheerful, endeared to many, and loving strongly. He was a diligent workman, making the best use of all capacities and opportunities, accomplishing in sickness and journeying an amount of reading and composition, which few equal in the same period of health. He was a conscientious, pure-minded, submissive and charitable Christian; resigning health and life, in circumstances of unusual prosperity and promise, without a murmur, saying, as his last words, "Whatever happens, we must trust in God." H.

Girlhood and Womanhood; or, Sketches of my Schoolmates. By Mrs. A. J. Graves, Author of Woman in America. Boston: T. H. Carter, and B. B. Mussey. 1844. 12mo. pp. 216.

The plan of this work, designed especially for the young, is not badly conceived. "To one given to imaginary musing," says the author, "there is no sight more interesting than a band of happy school-mates," and one is apt to indulge the fancy in picturing their future fortunes. Qualities early develope themselves, the effects of which are to be visible in the choice and actions of the whole subsequent life. The narrator, — for the book takes the narrative form, — begins by sketching mental portraits of several of her school-mates, in one of which variety or love of display predominates, in another family pride, and in the rest, other qualities, good or bad, according to the character of the influences to which they have been subjected, chiefly in the circle of home. Then follows a short history of the life of each, in which the results of these qualities are visible in a series of disappointments, in the wreck of fond hopes, and the throwing away of the best means of happiness, or the reverse. The execution of the plan is not faultless, yet much truth, and many sound views of life, and especially of woman's duties, temptations, and happiness, are presented to the mind in a style which, though not brilliant, is easy and agreeable. L.

The Valley of Vision; or the Dry Bones of Israel Reviewed. An attempted Proof (from Ezekiel, chap. xxxvii. 1—14*) of the Restoration and Conversion of the Jews.* By George Bush, Professor of Hebrew, New York City University. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 60.

The Prophecies of Daniel. Nos. 1 *and* 2. *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream of the Great Image.* By George Bush, etc. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 72.

The object of the first of these pamphlets is expressed in its title. Professor Bush argues from the Vision of the "dry bones," that the Jews are yet to be restored to their paternal soil, then to be converted, and become active missionaries of the Cross, and that we are now "just upon the borders of that sublime crisis in Providence," which is to bring about this result. His pamphlet does not convince us, but we will wait. — In the preface to his exposition of the "Prophecies of Daniel" the Professor intimates, that he has a deeper insight into the meaning of those obscure predictions than has been accorded to former interpreters; but of his claims in this respect we can better judge

after the completion of his work, than now. His plan has something to recommend it. He prints the original, accompanied, thus far, with the Greek version of Theodotion and the Latin Vulgate, side by side with a literal translation of each, a minute commentary being appended to each verse. The first chapter of the book is passed over without comment. L.

M. Fabii Quintiliani de Institutione Oratoria Libri duo. Ex editione G. L. Spalding. Accedunt Notæ Anglicæ. Cura C. K. Dillaway. Philadelphiæ. 1844. 12mo. pp. 209.

This constitutes the tenth volume of Mr. Dillaway's series of Latin Classics, issued in a very convenient form for manuals, well printed and furnished at the end with brief English notes explaining references and elucidating obscure passages. It contains two of the twelve books of Quintilian's Institutes, the tenth, presenting his "opinions of Greek and Roman writers," having been selected, says the editor, as "important for its history of Literature," and the eleventh for its "excellent precepts concerning propriety of speech and style." We know not how much our American speakers are in the habit of reading such writers. The style of some of them, however, might be benefited by their precepts and criticisms. We are glad that Mr. Dillaway finds encouragement to proceed in his undertaking to furnish an American edition of select portions of the best Roman writers, thus contributing something to promote the study of the ancient classics so essential to a thorough and finished education. L.

Reformers Fellow-Laborers with Christ. A Sermon delivered to the Second Congregational Society at Nantucket, on Sunday, May 26, 1844. By William Henry Knapp, Minister of the Society. Boston. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

The author of this Discourse does not think that all, or the greater part of the evils of society originate in a false theology, but that most men possess more religious truth than they are in a condition "physically and morally" to obey. He applies this doctrine to the "reforms" of the day, and until these reforms are "effected," the "truths of the Gospel," he says, "can have little practical influence." The preaching of these truths, he thinks, can never bring about the reforms alluded to, though he afterwards makes a distinction between true Christianity, and much which is "now called Christianity." We think that some of his statements require large qualification, yet he speaks like an earnest man, and his performance has vigor and life.

L.

Discourse on Slavery and the Annexation of Texas. By Orville Dewey, Pastor of the Church of the Messiah in New York. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

Dr. Dewey's position before the public, both as a preacher and a writer, must draw attention to whatever he may send from the press; but in the present instance, the excitement of the public mind throughout the country upon the subject which he discusses, will cause his Discourse to find many readers who might pass by a pamphlet of a professedly theological character. We hope it will be widely read, and diligently considered. There was a personal reason alike for the preparation and publication of this sermon; as we are informed in a note, that certain expressions in a Lecture delivered by him in New York the last winter, which afterwards appeared in this journal, "were wrested into a charge against the author of advocating Slavery." The injustice of this charge it needed but few words to expose. "Nothing could be farther from the truth," than such an imputation; "nor is there any discrepancy between that Lecture and the present Discourse," in which the author discusses "the great moral question" now "presented to this American nation for its decision" in the proposal for the Annexation of Texas. As a moral question alone, is it examined by Mr. Dewey. "With the other bearings of the case," whether political or economical, he has nothing to do. Starting from the truths that oppression is "the monster-sin" of the world, and freedom "the great basis-principle of all personal and political right," and that "discussion" is the rightful and efficient instrument of modern reform, he proceeds to enforce one point which he thinks has not been as yet "fairly and fully presented" to our people, and which is distinctly exhibited in one of the earlier paragraphs of the Discourse: —

"What *is* the precise question before us? Not whether it is right to hold the slaves we have, but whether it is right to accept as a component part of our social and political State another body of slaves. Not whether it is right to adhere to a compact with regard to slavery already existing, but whether it is right to legalize slavery anew. It is precisely as if there were no slaves in this Republic and never had been, and the question were now proposed to this country for the first time — will you recognize human bondage as a part of your free institutions?"

We cannot follow Mr. Dewey through his forcible and fervid exposition of this point. The intrinsic wrong of Slavery, the excuses or palliations which are offered for it by its Southern apologists, the atrocity of the slave-breeding "business," the inevitable effects of the institution upon the prosperity of the people among whom it is harbored, as learned from the history of past times and as seen in our own day, and the true character of

Northern feeling on this subject are successively presented, till he is brought to the noble conclusion, — "If I must be fanatical, let me be so for man, and not against man; let me be fanatical for his rights, and not against his rights; let me be fanatical for human brotherhood, and not for human bondage!" Will not the moral and Christian feeling of the whole land repeat the sentiment as its own? G.

The Washingtonian Reform. An Address, delivered before the Hingham Total Abstinence Society, June 16, 1844. By James L. Baker. Hingham. 1844. 8vo. pp. 20.

Mr. Baker speaks of the evils of intemperance as every true-hearted man must speak of them, and he does full justice to the Washingtonians, of whose efforts he takes a brief survey. He then proceeds to offer some remarks on legal enactments for the prevention or suppression of intemperance. He defends laws prohibiting the sale of ardent spirits as not encroaching on the rightful exercise of liberty in the citizen, and concludes with some animating words addressed to the friends of the reform, who should not be disheartened, "though a cloud may sometimes flit across its bright prospects." No one can complain of the spirit of the Address, and should any fail of being convinced by the author's reasoning, they will at least grant him the merit of fair argument and a pure and elevated tone of moral feeling, as well as a compact and forcible style. L.

A Defence of the Protestant Bible, as published by the Bible Societies, against the Charge raised against it by the Rev. Dr. Ryder, President of the College of Jesuits at Georgetown, D. C., during a Course of Theological Lectures, delivered in March and April, 1844, *in the City of Washington: That it does not contain the whole of the written Word of God — or Sacred Scripture — by* 139 *chapters, and, that consequently it is a Book which all Catholics Detest and Abhor.* By Akroatees. New York. 1844. 8vo. pp. 68.

The title of this pamphlet, which we have copied at length, sufficiently explains its object. But what are the "139 chapters," which these dishonest Bible Societies have omitted to insert in their Bibles, thus taking from the "word of God," and issuing Bibles which the President of the Georgetown College says all true Catholics are bound ever to "detest and abhor?" Why, they comprise the "Apocryphal Books," declared by the Council of Trent to be part of the canon of Sacred Scripture. Such charges as that here brought forward by the Lecturer from the "College of Jesuits" might seem, at first view, too silly to

deserve a serious reply. Yet they produce their effect, like the charge brought against Unitarians of mutilating the Bible, and it is well the matter should be set right and the truth be declared. The writer of this pamphlet shows, not by any elaborate and original research — this was not necessary — but by bringing together a mass of testimonies, how little support the decision of the Council of Trent derives from the voice of Christian antiquity. He expresses his intention of replying to some other bold and confident assertions of the Lecturer. All this, we think, is well. Let the public know on what ground the parties stand, and what is really the Catholicism of the nineteenth century as expounded by its accredited organs. L.

The Genealogy of the Descendants of Richard Haven, of Lynn, Massachusetts, who emigrated from England about two hundred years ago; among whom, through his sons John, Nathaniel, and Moses, of Framingham, are all the graduates of that name, at Cambridge, Dartmouth, Providence, and Amherst, being twenty-five in number; and twenty-nine others, of different names, who have graduated, at the same, or other Colleges. By Josiah Adams, of Framingham. Boston. 1843. 8vo. pp. 54.

Genealogies of the kind here presented are not wholly useless; they do something more than gratify a mere love of antiquarian research. They occasionally furnish aids to the annalist, or historian, by elucidating some obscure point, or fixing a disputed date, and their very minuteness constitutes one of their chief merits, after that of accuracy of statement. The present pamphlet bears evident marks of great care, and laborious research among old registries, manuscripts, and inscriptions, as well as diligence in gathering up, comparing, and arranging fast vanishing oral traditions. In the list of the Havens we meet with several names of individuals eminent for piety and worth, some of which a portion of our readers will readily recal, and from the daughters of the family, who by marriage have assumed other names, have proceeded descendants who have done no discredit to the virtues of their ancestry. L.

Selections from the Writings of Fenelon: with a Memoir of his Life. By Mrs. Follen. Fifth Edition. Revised and enlarged. Boston. S. G. Simpkins. 1844. 12mo. pp. 329.

We consider the continued demand for Mrs Follen's selections from so pure and elevated a writer as Fenelon, who rose far above all sects, as an indication of sound public taste, and we welcome with pleasure this new and enlarged edition. L.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The last two months have afforded fewer examples of clerical changes than we have had occasion to notice in previous numbers. — Rev. Mr. Morison has resigned his connexion with the society at New Bedford, not from that frequent cause of a dissolution of pastoral ties, ill health, but in consequence of such a recovery of health both on his part and on that of Mr. Peabody, as enables each to take charge of a separate ministry. — Rev. Mr. Cruft has relinquished his charge of the church at Lexington, and Rev. Mr. May, late Principal of the Normal School in that place, is engaged to supply the pulpit for the winter. — Rev. Mr. Lord, formerly of Southboro', has gone to Chicago, Ill., to fill the vacancy in the pulpit of the Unitarian society there, occasioned by Mr. Harrington's return to New England. — Mr. Harrington has begun a course of Sunday evening services at the "South End" in this city, with a view to the formation of a new society in that part of Boston. — Rev. Mr. Nightingale has resigned the office of minister at large at Lowell. — The meetinghouse purchased by the Unitarian society at Albany, N. Y., after having undergone large repairs, and renovation both externally and internally, was dedicated on Tuesday evening, October 15, of which notice will be found under the proper head. The installation of Mr. Harrington, and the semi-annual Convention, held this year at Albany, we also notice below. — The corner-stone of the new meetinghouse at Somerville was laid with appropriate religious services on Saturday, September 28, 1844. — The church which the Unitarian congregation in Montreal, L. C., are erecting, will not, probably, be completed till winter.

Convention at Albany. — The third semi-annual Convention of ministers and laymen of the Unitarian faith was held this year at Albany, N. Y., in connexion with the services of dedication and installation which took place on the 15th of October at the request of the Unitarian society of that place. The Convention met on Wednesday, October 16, at 10 o'clock, A. M. Rev. Charles Briggs of Boston was chosen President. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, Rev. Charles Brigham of Taunton was chosen Secretary, and Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., Rev. S. K. Lothrop, and Rev. N. S. Folsom, Committee of Business. Three resolutions were offered by this Committee, the first and second of which were made the subject of discussion till the hour of adjournment for dinner. The Convention re-assembled in the afternoon, and, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Hall of Dorchester, adopted the resolutions which had been discussed in the morning, and proceeded to the consideration of the third resolution, the debate upon which was brought to a close by the approach of evening, when this also was adopted. Rev. Messrs. Dewey, Lothrop, and Jason Whitman of Portland were appointed a Committee to fix the time and place of the meeting of the next

autumnal Convention. An adjournment then took place to the hour of the religious service appointed for the evening. This was attended in the Unitarian meetinghouse, in which the Convention had held its sessions, and was conducted by Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York, who preached from Acts xvii. 27, discoursing upon prayer, and especially upon the difficulties which many persons find in prayer, and the methods of cultivating a prayerful spirit. The house was filled with the audience. The Convention separated at the close of this service.

The Convention was as well attended as could have been expected by those who considered the distance of the place of meeting from the homes of most of the brethren. Twenty-three ministers were present, and members of their congregations of both sexes. The discussions were free, earnest and fraternal, and were sustained by both clergymen and laymen. The subject which received most attention was the propriety or advantage of direct doctrinal preaching; upon which there was a difference of opinion, though the preponderance was in favor of an explicit inculcation of those points of belief which distinguish us from other Christians. The brethren who attended the Convention returned from it with impressions of pleasure and benefit derived from its exercises. We believe these periodical meetings may do much both to inform and excite individual minds, and to give unity and strength to our denomination. The resolutions to which we have referred were as follows:

"*Resolved*, That as Unitarian Christians we hold faith in Christianity to be the element of righteousness; and that this faith has its value in that it produces a righteous life, and efficaciously works by love to God and love to man.

Resolved, That as the power of Christianity is in this faith as it dwells in the hidden man of the heart, the great reform demanded in it must proceed from the heart.

Resolved, That as Unitarian Christians it is our duty, and earnest desire, to extend the knowledge and influence of our faith, holding it, as we do, to be the pure and primitive faith of the Gospel, directly producing the highest and most excellent forms of the Christian character, and peculiarly fitted to meet the condition, the moral and religious wants, of the country at the present time."

Meadville Theological School. — An institution has been established at Meadville, Penn., from which we anticipate much advantage to the cause of liberal and just opinion in that part of the country. In part through the interest taken in the measure by H. J. Huidekoper Esq., and partly by means of assistance from New England and New York, a Theological School has been opened for the instruction of those in the West who wish to prepare themselves for the ministry. It has commenced under circumstances which give ample promise of success. A substantial brick building, 60 feet by 40, has been provided, which will give two large recitation rooms, and a chapel capable of holding from 150 to 200 persons. A library of 500 volumes has been collected, embracing all the works immediately needed by the students, besides which they will have access to yet larger private libraries. A sufficient supply of text-books has also been procured. Three Professors are attached to the institution, two of whom will reside at Meadville and give constant instruction. Rev. Rufus P. Stebbins, late pastor of the church in Leominster, Mass., will direct

the studies of the classes in the Old Testament, including Hebrew, Biblical Antiquities, Natural and Revealed Religion, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Systematic Theology, and Pulpit Eloquence. Rev. Frederic Huidekoper, formerly a Divinity student at Cambridge, will give instruction in Hermeneutics, the New Testament, Ecclesiastical History, and the Latin, Greek and German languages. Rev. George W. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y., will visit the School and give lectures on the Pastoral Care.

The School was opened on the 1st of October, with five students. Three have since been added, and others have applied for admission. The expenses of each student for the forty weeks of term time in a year, it is believed, need not exceed $50, exclusively of clothing. The institution is designed, in part, to meet the wants of the "Christian" denomination, from whom a portion of the students will be drawn. The most cordial interest has been expressed by members of that denomination, of which an example may be seen in the resolutions passed by the "Erie Christian Conference, at its session held at Fluvanna, N. Y. September 12, 1844:"—

"*Resolved*, That the Theological School to be opened at Meadville, October 1, 1844, in which the young ministers of our denomination may secure a good ministerial education, is worthy of our full confidence and support; and that we would earnestly recommend to young men who design to give themselves to the Gospel ministry, to avail themselves of this opportunity to qualify themselves for usefulness.

Resolved, That as there are young men among us of good mind and heart, who would wish to attend the School in Meadville, Pa., but have not the means, we would earnestly recommend that the churches and friends of liberal Christianity unite in giving them temporal assistance for this purpose, and that we consider such gifts a judicious assistance to our common cause."

Salem Fair. — The ladies of the four Unitarian congregations in Salem recently united in an effort in behalf of the Missionary enterprise, which was crowned with entire success. A fair, for which large preparation had been made, was held on the 5th of September, and was attended by many persons from the neighboring towns and even from Boston, as well as by inhabitants of Salem. The weather was favorable, the articles offered for sale were various in kind and of the nicest workmanship, a rich display of fruits and flowers met the eye on every side, and all the arrangements showed the good taste and hearty zeal of those who had undertaken this work. The result exceeded their hopes. The amount received during the two days on which the fair was held was $3,518, from which perhaps $300 must be deducted for necessary expenses, leaving $3,200, as the available proceeds; which have been distributed, through the agency of the Missionary Board, to societies needing assistance in the support of the ministry or in the erection of houses of public worship.

Installations. — Rev. George M. Rice was installed as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Chelsea, Mass., September 18, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lunt

of Quincy, from Philippians, iii. 9; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston; the Charge given by Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Chelsea; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Waterston of Boston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Sargent of Boston, Pierpont of Lynn, and Gray of Boston.

Rev. HENRY F. HARRINGTON, late of Providence, was installed as Pastor of the First Unitarian Church in ALBANY, N. Y., October 15, 1844. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from 1 Corinthians viii. 6; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I.; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Dewey of New York; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Robbins of Boston; and the other services by Rev. Mr. Palfrey of Barnstable, Rev. Mr. Harrington late of Chicago, Ill., and Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester.

Dedication. — The house of worship belonging to the Unitarian Society in ALBANY, N. Y., was dedicated by religious services in connexion with the Installation of Rev. Mr. Harrington, October 15, 1844. The Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia, Penn.; the other services being those already mentioned in the notice of the Installation.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Harvard University. — The anniversary exercises of Commencement week at Cambridge, this year, afforded more than usual satisfaction. On Tuesday, August 27, the annual Address before the Association of the Alumni of the College was delivered by Hon. Daniel A. White, of Salem. It treated of the reciprocal duties of the institution and of those who proceeded from under its care, and was marked by a sound course of thought and high tone of sentiment, in its exposition of the principles of a just intellectual culture. After the public exercises the association dined together in Harvard Hall. The usual Commencement performances occupied Wednesday, August 28. The degree of A. B. was conferred on the members of the graduating class, 52 in number; that of A. M., in course, on 13; of M. D. on 35; and of LL. B. on 36. The honorary degrees of LL. D. were conferred on Hon. George N. Briggs, Governor of the Commonwealth, Hon. John Sergeant of Philadelphia, Penn., and Charles Lyell Esq. of London; of D. D. on Rev. Andrew Bigelow of Danvers, and Professor Edwards A. Park of Andover; of A. M. on Rev. Hosea Ballou 2d, of Medford, Professor Asa Gray of Cambridge, Rev. Robert C. Waterston, Hon. Nathan Appleton, and Jonathan M. Warren M. D., of Boston. On Thursday, August 29, after the declamations by candidates for the Boylston prizes, the exercises of the Phi Beta Kappa Society were attended by a large audience. Prayer having been offered by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, an Oration was delivered by Rev. George Putnam of Roxbury, on the connexion between intellectual and moral culture, in which the dependence of true literary success upon the presence of the moral element was established by a series of vigorous remarks and pertinent

illustrations; and a Poem was delivered by William W. Story Esq. of Boston, on Nature and Art, in which successful literary execution was combined with pure moral sentiment. The Address before the Alumni and the Oration and Poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa have been published, and will be noticed in a future number of our journal.

The present state of the University, in all its branches, is highly satisfactory. The Freshman class, just entered, consists of 56, and 12 have been admitted to "advanced standing." The number in the Divinity School is larger than it has ever before been at any one time, 13 having entered the Junior class, and 2 having joined the Senior class. The whole number at present in the school is 38; in the Senior class 13, in the Middle class 12, in the Junior class 13. Considerable means of assisting students who require aid are connected with the school; the fear of incurring great expense in his preparation for the ministry need not, therefore, prevent any one from resorting to Cambridge. The increase of students connected with the Law School has made it necessary to enlarge Dane Hall, the building appropriated to the use of this department of the University, by an extension of its length with the addition of wings, the work upon which has been commenced. The work upon the Observatory has been steadily prosecuted through the last season. The whole number of students attached to the University, including Undergraduates, members of the Divinity, Law, and Medical Schools, and Resident Graduates, is 611, a larger number than has ever before been embraced upon its catalogue.

English Plagiarism. — The plagiarism of the English press upon American publications has become too notorious to require that we should adduce evidence of its frequency, but it is somewhat remarkable how many of these thefts have been committed upon the domain of Unitarian literature. Not content with appropriating extracts without acknowledgment of the source whence they were drawn, whole volumes have been re-printed in England under the guise of original works. A few years ago Mr. Fox's "History of the Reformation," and Dr. Parkman's "Offering of Sympathy," were offered for sale by "Evangelical" booksellers in London, without the slightest intimation that they were the productions of heretical pens. More recently the re-publication of Mr. Muzzey's "Young Maiden," as a new work from an English author, has been made the subject of merited exposure. Another example of the dishonesty of English editors has just been given, in the use which the London Monthly Review for last July has made of articles which originally appeared in the Christian Examiner — the journal for which we are now writing. In the thirteenth volume of the third series (numbers for Nov. 1841 and Jan. 1842,) may be found two articles on the Burial of the Dead, contributed by Rev. Dr. Brazer of Salem, which have been unscrupulously removed into the English journal, without an intimation of their transatlantic origin, and only with such defacement as occasionally impairs their beauty. We feel no objection to the importation of American thought into Great Britain, but every principle of literary and commercial justice requires that it should be quoted as of foreign production.

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Monumental Inscriptions — Mount Auburn. — A monument has recently been placed in the Cemetery at Mount Auburn, to the memory of the Rev. Dr. Channing. It was designed by the late Mr. Allston, whose directions have been strictly observed, and was erected in compliance with a resolution of the religious society of which he whose remains it covers was the faithful and beloved minister. It is a quadrangular monument, of white Italian marble, with a large square base of several stages, portions of which are deeply undercut, to produce the effect of light and shadow, surmounted by an equilateral die having panels on its four sides, above which is a Roman sepulchral cornice or slab, supporting on its centre a low open vase. On the front is this inscription.

In memory of
WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING,
honored throughout Christendom,
for his eloquence and courage
in maintaining and advancing
the Great Cause of
Truth, Religion and Human Freedom,
This Monument
is gratefully and reverently erected
by the Christian Society,
of which, during nearly forty years,
he was Pastor.

On the reverse:

Here rest the remains of
WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING;
Born, 7, April, 1780,
at Newport, R. I.;
Ordained, 1, June, 1803,
as a minister of Jesus Christ
to the Society worshipping God
in Federal Street, Boston;
Died, 2, October, 1842,
while on a journey,
at Bennington, Vermont.

The monument stands on Greenbrier Path, and may be approached by turning to the right soon after entering the grounds.

Our mention of this monument reminds us of other similar structures at Mount Auburn, of which we desire that our pages should contain some notice. We refer particularly to those erected to the memory of Mr. Buckminster, President Kirkland, and Dr. Worcester. Obvious reasons lead us to select these three names. They stand in connexion with the name of Channing, in any enumeration of the men to whom this community is most indebted for the diffusion of correct religious opinion, high moral sentiment and pure literary taste. The monument to Mr. Buckminster was erected by the congregation of which he was the minister during the short, but memorable period of his professional life. It is an upright square structure, of white marble, having a narrow base and cornice, and a die of considerable

elevation with a Gothic panel recessed in each side; with these inscriptions.

On the front of the monument:

BUCKMINSTER.

On the second compartment:

JOSEPH STEVENS BUCKMINSTER
was born
May 26, 1784,
was ordained pastor
of the Church in
Brattle Square, Boston,
January 30, 1805,
and departed this life
June 9, 1812.

On the third compartment:

His mortal remains
with those of
his eldest sister
were deposited beneath
this stone
by the care of the church
to which he
had ministered,
June 12, 1842.

On the fourth compartment:

LUCY MARIA,
sister of
Rev. J. S. Buckminster,
and wife of
Professor John Farrar,
was born
October 11, 1787,
and died
September 20, 1824.

This monument may be found by the visitor to Mount Auburn, on Hyacinth Path, at the distance of an eighth of a mile from the gate.

The monument to the memory of Dr. Kirkland, on the summit of Harvard Hill, is a cenotaph, erected by graduates of the University over which he presided. It is, in form, a large upright sarcophagus, of Italian marble, with Gothic panels and decorations, and is surmounted by a book and double scroll. It bears these inscriptions.

JOANNI THORNTON KIRKLAND,
viro honorato, dilecto,
auctoritate, suavitate,
ingenii acumine, sermonis venustate,
et animi quadam altitudine
præstanti,
Academiæ Harvardianæ,
per annos xvii. faustos præsidi
æquo, vigilanti, benigno, pio,
Alumni grate memores
hoc monumentum ponendum curaverunt.

On the reverse:

JOANNES THORNTON KIRKLAND, S. T. D.
Decessit die Aprilis XXVI.
A. D. MDCCCXL.
Ætatis suæ LXIX.

The memorial raised by grateful friends over the remains of Dr. Worcester stands at the meeting of Walnut and Laurel Avenues, is constructed of white marble, is very simple in its form, and surmounted by a cross. The inscription on the front:—

To
NOAH WORCESTER, D. D.
Erected by his Friends,
In commemoration of his Zeal and Labors
In the Cause of Peace;
And of the
Meekness, Benignity, and Consistency
Of his Character,
As a
Christian Philanthropist and Divine:
"Speaking the Truth in Love."

On the reverse:

NOAH WORCESTER,
Born at Hollis, N. H., Nov. 25, 1758:
Died at Brighton, Mass., Oct. 31, 1837:
Aged 79 years.
"Blessed are the Peacemakers,
For they shall be called
The Children of God."

The increase at Mount Auburn of memorials, which add interest and beauty to a spot that nature seems to have designed for the use to which it is now consecrated, cannot have escaped the notice of any one by whom it has been recently visited. Every year is multiplying upon its surface the evidences of tender sentiment and refined taste. By means of a subscription, in addition to receipts from the sale of lots, the Trustees have been enabled to prosecute the plans originally contemplated for redeeming and adorning the grounds. The wooden gateway has given place to one of granite, and along the whole front of the Cemetery a very neat iron fence has taken the place of the former wooden palisade. A similar fence, or one of durable masonry, will be carried around the three other sides. Workmen are now engaged in deepening the ponds and draining the marshy parts of the ground, which will be made in future to increase instead of marring the beauty of the place. It is intended in the course of the next year to erect a Chapel, for the performance of the funeral service, if desired, at the place of interment, and for the reception of such sculpture as might suffer from exposure to the open air. It will present a fine example of the Continental Gothic, and from its dimensions and the material of which it will be built will be suited to meet the wants of many generations after the present. We may add that before another spring Mount Auburn will contain a bronze statue of full size, placed there in honor of Dr. Bowditch, whom it represents in a sitting posture, as in his familiar habits of study. The model has been executed by Ball Hughes, and is one of the most successful results of modern art.

LETTER FROM S. H. DICKSON, M. D.

In our introductory remarks to the Letter of Dr. W. B. Carpenter, in our July number, we expressed our disinclination to publish replies to articles that might appear in our Journal, and we repeat that we do not wish to make our pages the vehicle of direct controversy. But as the Letter which we give below comes from a source entitled to respect, the writer being a member of the medical profession of high standing in the section of the country to which he belongs, and as it proposes to treat the subject to which it relates historically and scientifically, under which aspect it was presented by Dr. Carpenter, we feel that we cannot in justice either to the author or to our readers, nor in consistency with the principle on which this journal is conducted, — of allowing the free expression of opinion, — refuse it admission. We wish it, however, to be taken not as representing either the opinions or feelings of the Editors of the Examiner, but those of an intelligent correspondent at the South, with whose views our readers may be glad to have an opportunity of becoming acquainted. — [Eds. Christ. Exam. and Rel. Misc.]

To the Editors of the Christian Examiner:

GENTLEMEN: — May I ask your insertion of a brief reply to the Letter of Dr. W. B. Carpenter of Bristol, England, published in the July number of the Christian Examiner. The name of this distinguished physiologist carries with it such weight, that those of us who think him in error, and who have hitherto been silent on the subject of which he treats, cannot help feeling that the incorrect statements to which he has given his endorsement must not be left uncontradicted or his argument left unanswered.

I am glad to notice that Dr. C. avoids the discussion of the general subject of Slavery, "fully admitting that the question is a most difficult one, and that on his side of the water the number and extent of the difficulties which environ it are very imperfectly known." He comments upon an able article in a late number of the Examiner, and objects to "a point comprised in one sentence of that paper, as follows: the colored population is said to be 'scattered among us, and yet separated from us by impassable barriers, physical if not mental; refused intermarriage; refused intercourse as equals, etc.'" Dr. C. endeavors to demonstrate, that this statement is neither "scientifically nor historically true." "How is he (the Negro) ever to rise?" exclaims the writer above quoted, well aware of the actual "difficulties which environ the topic." These difficulties Dr. C. failing to appreciate, believes himself to have removed; and speaks lightly of the impediments natural and artificial, original and conventional, which oppose themselves to the elevation of the black race.

In reply, I propose to maintain the doctrine laid down by your former correspondent, and to show that "these barriers are impassable;" that the colored population *must* be "refused intercourse with us as equals;" and that they can neither "rise," as a race, by such intercourse, nor should the attempt to raise them in this way, especially if it imply intermarriage, ever be made by the race already elevated above them. I propose to show that it is historically true that "an impassable barrier" has always existed between the races, and that it is "scientifically true" that it exists now.

As an article of religious belief or inference, it is totally irrelevant to discuss here the question of the original unity of the human race, concerning which he refers to the works of Dr. Prichard. It would occupy a volume to follow up Dr. P., whose facts are a multitudinous mass of every shade and grade of authenticity, and whose reasonings are all of the nature of special pleading. He is an advocate, anxious not to discover truth, but to maintain an opinion. Prejudices, sentiments, accidental events constitute the data from which his conclusions are drawn; and any traveller who offers a favoring assertion is authority with him. "Climate and circumstances" give all the modifications of animal tribes, and account, as in the view of our own Stanhope Smith, for all variations and peculiarities. "External contingencies," "flattening the foot of the negro," have left that of the red man finely arched; curling and shortening the African hair, they have smoothed and straitened that of the Hindoo in one hemisphere, and lengthened in the other the capillary covering of the Crow and the Mandan.

Morton, of whom American science is justly proud, gives us the result of his profound, extensive and cautious researches in the following proposition: "The physical or organic characters which distinguish the several races of men, are as old as the oldest records of our species." As they exist not less obviously now than they did four thousand years ago, and as they have not been overcome, they form barriers in the truest sense impassable. Delineations of the Negro from 1700 to 2000 years B. C. abound in the Egyptian monuments; their peculiarities being in every way strongly marked, and exactly the same as at the present day.

Dr. C.'s own admissions on this subject of "marked differences" are abundantly sufficient. "Between a Guinea-Coast Negro and an intelligent Englishman or American, the distinctions *do* appear definite enough." "The Caucasian races as a whole have vastly improved upon the original type; the Negro races have, taken as a whole, retrograded from it." In his "Physiology," he speaks very forcibly of the degradation of some of the tribes of Africa and New Holland, declaring, that "to bring them up to the level of the European would probably require centuries of civilization." (p. 70, Amer. Edit.) Being asked by Dr. Tuckerman, whether twelve black children, "taken from their parents at a year old, and brought up with twelve white children of the same age, would show an equality of mental power with the latter," he answered, "Certainly not; but if the descendants of these black children were treated in the same manner for several generations, this equality would result." Whatever then was "the original type" from which the Negro has retrograded — Adam or Noah — as the Caucasian has "vastly" improved upon it, the distance between them must be doubly vast. How are they to be again brought upon a level, — "how is the Negro to rise," — how is the impassable barrier to be passed?

If Prichard, and Stanhope Smith, and Dr. C. are right, and the Negro has descended from a better station under the gradual and progressive pressure of adverse circumstances, these effects, even if the unfavorable contingencies be removed, will not cease at once, but must gradually subside and disappear, and it will take him a long time to regain "the level of the original type." Even then, according to Dr. C.'s own admission, he will be "vastly" below the Cauca-

sian. In every fibre of his outward frame, in every faculty of his mental constitution, he bears the impress of four thousand years, one hundred and thirty-three generations at least of progressive degradation, doubly "vast." How many generations, how many centuries, will it take him to retrieve his lost ground? If unaided, he never will advance one step. When we first meet with the Negro — in the world's infancy, — he is just what we find him now; conquered, subject, in servitude. All the elevation he has ever attained has been procured, at a heavy price of suffering and sorrow, doubtless in most instances, from his contact with the white man; to whose claim of superiority and mastership he has always yielded a ready and humble assent. Even this elevation affects the individual alone, never having spread to or included a tribe however small; a distinction totally unheeded by Dr. Carpenter, who would remove the "impassable barrier" for individuals, by separating them from the race whose elevation he contemplates. The Negro never generates civilization in any of its lowest forms; he never extends it to his compatriots; he never transmits it to his posterity. When released from the hard school of the white, like the Indian returning to his native forest from the walls of Yale or Harvard, he relapses promptly into barbarism; as we see in the individuals of the Amistad and in the hordes of St. Domingo; and as, with the same probability, we shall soon see in the freed "apprentices" of the British West Indies.

To avert this retrocession, he must cease to be a Negro; and here is the obvious inconsistency of Dr. C.'s plan of Amalgamation. He holds out to him marriage with the white as "an improvement in his condition," and he offers it to him as "a reward," with the prospect of which he would excite his hope and ambition, and stimulate him to efforts at self-improvement and self-elevation. But how will such connexion elevate the black, or "reward" him — that is Dr. C.'s word — for taking pains to cultivate his mind and develope his faculties? He is to be taught, and to be persuaded, to aspire. How high then shall we induce him to look up? Shall we indulge him with the hope of wedding into the family of some of the European aristocracy? Dr. C. does not hint at such an "impassability." But — "the daughter of an American merchant may find the descendant of the despised Negro not unworthy of her attachment." He does not insult with his suggestion the proud officials of the English government, who, like Sir Charles Metcalfe, looking from their lofty position on all beneath them as occupying a common level, forced the Colonels, and Judges, and planters of the Colonies to associate on equal footing with their colored fellow Colonists; no, nor any of the well-born or well-bred of the middle class of his own countrymen. "The daughter" — not of a British, but — "of an American merchant," is courteously selected; and she is to attach herself, not "to the despised Negro," but to "his descendant," who is to become "not unworthy of her attachment." He must improve then, it is admitted, upon the present "type;" to improve, he must be educated; and he must be educated by the white man, for his own race is very unskilful in teaching, however apt they may be in learning. When will he be fitted for the honor and reward of intermarriage with his teachers? In the present sentence, Dr. C. says it may be "in one or two generations;" he had previously told Dr. Tucker-

man "several;" and in his standard "Physiology," he doubts whether as to some of our scholars it may not require "centuries."

In the experiment proposed by Dr. Tuckerman, the twelve black children, starting from a lower natural platform than the twelve white, must, in order to reach them in any supposed length of time, improve *faster* than they. But they carry a double weight and attempt an impossibility. Dr. C. informs us, (v. Phys. pp. 69, 70,) that acquired peculiarities as well as original constitution are transmitted hereditarily, and that education creates "improveability" as well as confers improvement; therefore, the twelve white children being of a "vastly" superior race by hereditary constitution, of greater hereditary "improveability," and equally well taught, must go onward and upward faster than the black, and at the end of "several generations," — if impossibilities could undergo augmentation, — the gulf of separation would be wider, and the "barrier" between the two races more "impassable" than it is now.

That the Negro can be educated, and will improve, under assiduous teaching, I do not doubt. That he ought to be educated, I have maintained always and elsewhere, (v. South. Lit. Mess. for May.) That he is educated, and would be educated better and faster, if it were not for the injudicious interference of volunteer pedagogues eager to thrust into his hands dangerous and improper primers and picture-books, are facts that ought to be known to the wise and good everywhere. But it must be repeated until the real friends of the Negro will hear and ponder it, that it is unreasonable to expect him ever to attain equality with a competitor not only "vastly" above him now, but vastly more capable of rising, and vastly more ambitious to rise than he; unless some means are applied to retard *our* pace, while his shall be accelerated.

Anxious to cut this Gordian knot, and too impatient to wait for the preparatory education of "one or two, or several generations," proposed by Dr. C., many suggest, some have urged, and even Dr. C. himself very inconsistently mentions without disapproval, the alternative of immediate and unrestrained amalgamation by intermarriage. The result of this experiment, which, wherever possible, has been abundantly tried, will undoubtedly be the deterioration at once of the better race and the ultimate barbarism and destruction of both. In this country, however, "the distinctions of race do really appear definite enough" to keep them well and widely apart. Nor does the Mulatto (too often, as Dr. C. reminds us, met with among us) serve in any degree to blend them or diminish their distinctness, but rather by his presence widens the breach. He is looked up to by the black — who knows and feels his inferiority, mental and physical — with envy and hatred; he is looked down upon by the white with contempt and aversion. He is doubly despised; partly because of his ancestry, and partly because he is of course a bastard. He is not fated to maintain anywhere his doubtful and intermediate position. I believe with Dr. Nott that the Mulatto is incapable of "keeping up his number," but must decay and disappear, — rising by admixture with the white, or falling back again in the same way into the ranks of his darker progenitor. I have no doubt of his comparative infertility and the inferior average duration of his life. I know that Dr. Torry has combated these views with his unfailing ingenuity and ex-

tensive research; but I am well persuaded that time will establish their truth.

Two or three grand experiments of Amalgamation have been made, and a third is now going on, the result of which it may be well to wait for, before we plunge into the perils of another. In the British West Indies the colored population is in the ascendant, and the recent immigration of poor European laborers will do no more than mingle their blood with that of the possessors of the soil before they fall victims to the pestilential climate. Thus will a mongrel race be produced there, whose destinies, like those of their neighbors of Hayti, time will amply develope. Mexico exhibits the results, too, of this process of elevating the lower at the expense of the superior tribes. We are told that it is not easy to find a white under twenty years, of unmixed descent; the only difficulty being to decide upon the proportion in each of the old Spaniard, the Morisco, the Indian, and the Negro. We should scarcely select the Mexican as a choice specimen of humanity. I think there is scarcely white blood enough in the mass to save them from the universal retrocession to which the Moor, the Indian, and the Negro are doomed. But it is in Egypt, and the neighboring nations of the East, that we shall best see the effects of amalgamation — interfusion of Negro with Caucasian continued for ages. Open the valuable work of Morton (Crania Egyptiaca, p. 58,) and read the correction of one of the innumerable errors of Prichard's book. Dr. P. maintains the descent of the modern Nubians from a Negro nation of the hill country of Kordofan, because it suits him to ascribe the diversities of organization to "climate and circumstances." Dr. M. reminds us that "while the Negroes flow into the country from one side, the migratory Arabs invade it on the other; thus furnishing inexhaustible materials for the blending of the two races." He adds from Caillaud a remark on "the shortness of life, disease and dissipation of these people," and quotes with approbation from another "sensible and instructive writer" the statement, that "the Negro population is about one-sixth of the whole, and continually amalgamating with it." In regard to Egypt the influx of Negroes is estimated at three thousand a year, anciently by Arrian, recently by Madden. Morton calculates the number introduced within 3,500 years at more than 10,000,000. Clot Bey states the present Negro population at 20,000, adding that Negresses form the greater number of women in every harem. Thus we account at once for the degeneracy of the modern compared with the ancient Egyptian; and for the progressive depopulation of that fertile and once densely peopled and highly civilized country. May God protect our posterity from the fate of Egypt, Mexico, and the West Indian Islands.

From the perusal and attentive consideration of Dr. C.'s Letter we learn 1. That the Negro is inferior, much inferior, to the white man; "his race having retrograded from the 'original type,' while ours has *vastly* improved upon it."

2. That this inferiority is progressive in an augmenting ratio, because "acquired peculiarities are transmissible and transmitted by a law of nature as well as natural ones;" and all that he acquired while retrograding must be adverse and degenerate.

3. That he is less improveable or receptive of education than the

white; because this quality is always relevant to and essentially connected with his condition.

4. That under the most favorable contingencies — when enjoying intercourse, and aided and educated by the highest race of whites, he will require to reach their present level "one or two" or "several generations" or "some centuries."

5. Therefore, if the white man improve at the same rate with the black, the latter will never attain the equality contemplated; but this does not express more than a portion of the difficulty, for the white will and must improve *faster*.

6. Therefore, as "the barrier is impassable," as we cannot 'level up' rapidly enough, we must 'level down,' and sacrifice the white man, retarding his improvement and advancement to aid the black in his aspirations after "social equality."

7. The only feasible mode of effecting this philanthropic purpose is amalgamation — the destruction of the two races by interfusion and the creation of a third that shall approach the intermediate point occupied by the "original type," from which one retrograded while the other vastly improved.

Messrs. Editors: — Is it possible that our Northern brethren, your readers, are prepared for this view of the subject? Can they read, have any of them read, Dr. Carpenter's Letter with approbation? I do not wonder at *his* calmness and philosophical philanthropy, for he can neither understand our situation in regard to this matter, nor fairly appreciate our difficulties. Here we are in South Carolina, with near 300,000 of the black race; quiet, orderly, useful, gradually advancing in civilization, and meanwhile living as comfortably, we believe, as the laboring poor anywhere in the world. 'Emancipate them! Emancipate them!' exclaims the Abolitionist; and the outcry, beginning at our own border, resounds across the Atlantic, and echoes from the Alps of the Old World and the Alleghanies and Andes of the New. 'Impossible,' we reply. 'We cannot yield to them our homes and our country.' We cannot remain as equal co-occupants of the soil. They are in many senses, physical and moral, after all their enforced "elevation" in the social scale, an inferior race; not yet civilized enough nor sufficiently educated to be safe fellow-citizens in a republic without a standing army. They retain yet too much of the "original constitution" and too many of the "acquired peculiarities" of their African ancestry. Well then, says Dr. Carpenter, marry them and elevate them in the social scale. Surely — "if this be held out to them as a reward, it will speedily be attained." No case has ever been imagined in which the Hibernian idea was so completely realized of "the reciprocity being all on one side." We are to teach them at an infinite expense of toil and time, and then we are to reward them for being taught; in the meanwhile neglecting our own education and descending half-way to their inferior level. Against this "lame and impotent conclusion" we enter our indignant protest, and declare before Heaven and our unreasonable brethren of mankind, that there is no conceivable alternative which we would not prefer.

SAM'L HENRY DICKSON, M. D.

Charleston, S. C., August, 1844.

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A new Catalogue, containing a list of the Books published during the last two years, is now ready, and will be sent to any who may wish it.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL SINGING BOOK; being a Collection of Hymns with appropriate Music, designed as a Guide and Assistant to the Devotional Exercises of Sabbath Schools and Families; comprising also the Elements of Music, with Directions for a good Development of the Voice, and Vocal Exercises. By Edward L. White.

(Extract from the Report of the Worcester Sunday School Society.)

"They would heartily recommend, as a manual and aid in the singing of Sunday Schools, the SUNDAY SCHOOL SINGING BOOK, published by William Crosby. The Music is simple, easy, and very pleasing, and the words altogether appropriate and excellent."

HYMNS AND TUNES FOR VESTRY AND CONFERENCE MEETINGS. By Rev. EDWIN M. STONE.

(From the Christian Examiner.)

"We are much pleased with it. Something of the kind has been long wanted, and is now especially acceptable, when the practice of the old and primitive congregational singing is reviving among us, which is sure to bring back a taste for the old, simple and devotional music. The book is a small one, modest, and unpretending; but it well fulfils its design. It embraces a sufficient variety of tunes to answer the purpose for which the publication is intended, and these, as well as the hymns—two or three of which are given to each tune—seem to us to have been well chosen."

(From the Christian Register.)

"This little book comes out opportunely to meet the want presented by the recent re-introduction of Congregational Singing into our places of worship. It is cheap in price, of a convenient size, and contains the favorite hymns and tunes, appropriately fitted to each other. We would recommend its examination to those who are seeking for a work of the kind."